

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 10. No. 3.—New Series.] MARCH 1, 1862.

{Price Fourpence Stamped
 Threepence Unstamped}

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Monthly Summary	49	The African Slave-Trade to Cuba.....	61
Parliamentary Record	52	England and America	62
The Dahomian Sacrifices	55	The Confederate Commissioners and their	
Mr. Mill on the American Struggle.....	57	Constituencies	68
Secession and Slavery	60	Banquet to Vice-Consul Taylor.....	70
Anti-Slavery Items.....	60, 71	Birmingham Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society,	72
Notice	61		

Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—On Thursday, the 6th ultimo, Parliament was opened by royal commission.

In the House of Commons, on the 7th, on Mr. Portman's bringing up the report on the address, in reply to Her Majesty's speech, Mr. Gregory referred to the blockade of the Southern ports, alleging that he was in a position to prove its inefficiency, and that he should take an early opportunity of bringing the subject under the notice of the House. He was followed by Mr. Bentinck in the same sense.

In the House of Lords, on the 14th, the Earl of Stanhope asked Earl Russell what course the Government intended taking with respect to the alleged blocking up of Charleston harbour. Earl Russell gave a somewhat evasive reply, and explained that the American Government stated it to be their intention not to block it up permanently.

In the House of Commons, on the 14th, Lord A. S. Churchill asked Lord Palmerston whether the Government intended to send out a Commissioner to Dahomey to cause the King to discontinue slave-trading and the practice of human sacrifices. Lord Palmerston stated that it was not the intention of the Government to send out a Commissioner, but that no effort would be spared to accomplish the object sought by the noble lord.

On Tuesday, the 11th ult., the *Birmingham Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* held its Spring quarterly meeting, which was nume-

rously attended. In another column will be found a summary of the proceedings.

On Thursday, the 20th ult., a public meeting on the subject of the Cuban slave-trade was held at Exeter, Sir John Bowring, Bart., in the chair, when a memorial to Viscount Palmerston was unanimously adopted, to be placed in his hands by the Hon. the Members for the city. On Thursday the 27th, and Friday the 28th, similar meetings were held respectively at York and Newcastle-on-Tyne, and similar memorials were adopted. These meetings were addressed by L. A. Chamerovzow, on behalf of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. Other meetings on the same subject are to be held at Edinburgh and Glasgow, on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of the current month.

The *East-India Cotton Agency* (Limited) has issued a prospectus, and is appealing for subscribers to its capital of 500,000*l.*, in 10*l.* shares. The Direction is composed of eminently influential and commercial men, and starts with every prospect of success. The object of the "Agency" is not to grow cotton in India, but to purchase it from the native producers. We believe the enterprise to possess the primary elements of success. The Trustees are Duncan Dunbar, Esq. and H. E. Gurney, Esq., and the Secretary, James Laurie, Esq. The offices are at 10 Old Jewry Chambers, E. C., London.

In consequence of the case of John Anderson, the escaped slave, the Duke of Newcastle has before the House of Lords a Bill providing that in future no writ of *habeas corpus* shall issue from England into any

colony where there is a lawfully established court of justice authorised to issue such writs.

UNITED STATES.—The Military Committee of the House, to which were referred all the petitions and resolutions in relation to the emancipation of the slaves of rebels, have reported a Bill, to the principles of which, it is understood, the Committee agree, but not fully on details. The leading features of the Bill are:

First—The apportionment of the national tax among the rebel States.

Second—The charge of each rebel State's portion *pro rata* on the lots and lands of citizens of said States, according to the valuation thereof under the last census.

Third—The Proclamation of the President on the 22nd of February next, to all citizens of the rebel States, to pay the taxes charged on their lands.

Fourth—The lands of all who fail to pay, after sixty days, shall be liable to be seized, and the title thereof vest in the United States.

Fifth—The President to appoint three Commissioners for each rebel State, to take charge of lands whose title is thus vested in Government, and lease or sell the same as the President may direct; but persons claiming to be loyal, who shall, in two years, furnish proof of loyalty, shall receive each from Government title to their lands.

Sixth—These Commissioners to receive a salary of 3000 dollars each, and to have two clerks each, at a salary of 1000 dollars. They shall enter upon duty whenever any county or district of the rebel States is reduced to Federal authority by the commanding-general.

Seventh—Personal property of citizens in rebel States to be taken after June next, in default of their payment of the national income tax. Loyal owners to have time for reclamation.

Eighth—The proceeds of leases or sales of rebel property to be paid into the National Treasury.

Ninth—The slaves of rebel masters, taken by our army, or brought into our lines, or coming in voluntarily, shall be protected, and the rights of rebel masters divested by a summary examination of Commissioners, and certificates of freedom issued.

Tenth—These emancipated persons shall be hired to employers leasing Government lands, or employed by Government in public works, or indentured to agriculturists or mechanics for a term of five years, of all over twenty-one, and until twenty-five years of age of all under twenty-one, reserving reasonable wages for their service, which wages shall go to Government, to be held in trust for said persons, and to be used in deporting them to new homes,—the employers to feed, clothe, and lodge them properly.

Eleventh—If any State shall emancipate its slaves, they shall be taken charge of by the United States, and treated in the same manner as slaves taken from rebels. Any free negroes wishing to emigrate shall be deported by Government, and provided for as slaves emancipated under this Bill.

Twelfth—The proceeds of the sales of the lands and other property of rebels, and the wages of apprenticed and hired persons, shall create a national fund, one-third to pay the cost of providing new homes for emancipated persons and transporting them thereto; one-third to pay the Federal tax imposed on the rebel States; and one-third to pay loyal owners of emancipated slaves, and the losses of loyal persons by reason of the rebellion.

Thirteenth—The President shall acquire in Mexico, South America, Central America, or islands in the Gulf of Mexico, lands, or the right of settlement on lands, to which emancipated slaves shall be transported, single persons receiving forty acres of land, and married persons eighty acres.

Mr. Cameron, Secretary-at-War, has been superseded, and sent as Ambassador to St. Petersburg. Mr. Stanton has been appointed to succeed him, and he has been confirmed in his office by the President.

The Senate has expelled Mr. John D. Bright, of Indiana, for treasonable correspondence with the rebels.

Mr. Senator Sumner has reported a Bill in the Senate to authorise the appointment of diplomatic representatives to the Republics of Hayti and Liberia, each of them to be accredited as Commissioner and Consul-General, and to receive the compensation of Commissioner provided for by the Act of Congress of Aug. 18, 1856, the representative at Liberia, however, not to have over 4000 dollars. It is understood that the Committee are unanimously in favour of establishing commercial relations with Hayti and Liberia, but that there is some diversity of opinion with regard to the proper official grade of the representatives to be sent thither by the United States' Government. That which is given them by this Bill is, by the Act of 1856, the second in rank, Commissioners being below Ambassadors, above Chargé d'Affaires, and on a level with Ministers Resident.

Mr. Chandler (Rep., Mich.) has presented resolutions from the Legislature of Michigan, re-affirming loyalty to the Government, and hatred to traitors, and asking the Government to speedily put down the insurrection, favouring the confiscation of the property of the rebels, and asking, that as Slavery is the cause of the war, it be swept from the land.

Congress has passed a Bill to prevent the Chinese Coolie-trade being carried on in American ships.

It is reported, that as soon as the Tax Bill has passed the two Houses a measure will

be introduced for [abolishing Slavery in the district of Columbia, and purchasing the slaves in all the Border States. It will also be proposed to constitute the rebellious States simple territories, under the sole government of Congress, with the ordinance of 1787, abolishing Slavery, extended over the whole. The Bill proposes to ordain, that when any portion of this territory applies for admission as a State, it must engage to remain for ever in the Union. The provisions of the measure are being settled in Committee, and the Bill is said to be certain to pass into law, for the proposal would receive no opposition from the Government, but probably will be endorsed and aided by it.

Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, has offered a series of resolutions declaratory of the relations of the Government with certain States, which were laid on the table by 21 to 15. They advocate emancipation as a war measure.

The Convention of Western Virginia is engaged upon the Constitution for the proposed new State of Kanawha. Whether Congress will be disposed to admit that State into the Union is uncertain, though the project will commend itself to public favour. One thing is certain: the new State must come without Slavery, otherwise it cannot hope to pass the gates of the Union.

The tide of victory appears to have turned in favour of the Federal forces. A battle has been fought at Somerset, Kentucky, between the Constitutionalists under General Schoepf, and the Confederates under General Zollicoffer, which resulted in the defeat of the latter, and the death of their leader, and the capture of all their cannon, stores, tents, and horses. The loss of life on both sides was heavy. This victory gives the Federals a great strategic advantage in Kentucky.

On the 6th of February, seven Federal gun-boats, under Commodore Foote, attacked Fort Henry, on the Tennessee river, and captured it, with General Tilgham in command, and sixteen prisoners. This fort is one which guards the railroad communication between Memphis and Columbus with Bowling Green, and opens the navigation of Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. The Federals are in possession of the bridge across the former.

On the 9th, General Burnside's expedition took possession of Roanoke Island, Pamlico Sound, in Hatteras inlet, destroyed the Confederate fleets, and attacked Elizabeth city, which the Confederates abandoned, after—as is alleged—setting it on fire. It was completely destroyed. The loss is reported on each side to have amounted to one thousand killed and wounded. The Federals were advancing.

The loss of the positions above named is

considered to be very serious by the Southern journals.

General McClellan had been before the Congressional Committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the war. He is reported to have expressed confidence in the early termination of the rebellion.

The *New-York Times* declares that Mr. Lovejoy's recent speech was a libel on American sentiment, and does not represent the feelings of the nation. It was, it says, a disgrace to the House of Representatives.

The *New-York Evening Post* strongly defends the blocking-up of Charleston Harbour, and says the complaint comes with a bad grace from the British Government. "If France closed Cherbourg, nobody in the world could complain with justice."

The *New-York World* states that in 1779 the English sank stone vessels in the Savannah river to prevent the approach of the American and French fleets. The vessels sunk were His Majesty's ship *Rose*, the *Savannah* armed ship, and four transports.

General Fremont is to receive an important command, having disproved, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of War, the charges of corruption alleged against him.

The slave-pens in Washington are to be at once abolished.

It was reported that the Southern agents in France and England propose to negotiate for recognition on the basis of commercial treaties highly favourable to the interests of those Powers, and the *gradual abolition of Slavery* in all the States of the Confederacy.

President Lincoln has granted three weeks' respite to Captain Gordon, of the slaver *Erie*, who was to have been hung on the 7th ult. The New-York press unanimously urge the carrying out of capital punishment.

Some great abolition speeches have been made by Wendell Phillips, W. Lloyd Garrison, and the Rev. Dr. Cheever. We regret our inability to give extracts from them, owing to the pressure on our space.

Dr. Cheever's lecture, in the Church of the Puritans, was more numerously attended than any of the preceding ones, and produced an overwhelming effect.

It is estimated that there are some 14,000,000 persons of African descent on the American continent. In the United States they number 4,000,000; Brazil, 4,150,000; Cuba, 1,500,000; South and Central American Republics, 1,200,000; Hayti, 2,000,000; British Possessions, 800,000; French, 250,000; Dutch, Danish, and Mexican, 200,000.

In accordance with instructions from U. S. Marshal Murray, two more slavers have been arrested. They are sailors, and give their names as John Dellaney and Richard Holph. It appears that they were sailors on the schooner *Welles*, which was fitted

out at, and sailed from, Greenport, L. I., in April last. The captain's name was Welles, The vessel started for the coast of Africa, and, when nine days out, the mate became drunk, fell overboard, and was drowned. The vessel kept on her course, until she arrived on the African coast, where she was overhauled by two British cruisers, but her papers, on examination, proved to be satisfactory, so she was allowed to go undisturbed on her mission of blood. She took on board 601 negroes, 135 of whom died on the passage to Cuba, and 466 were landed in good health. When nine days out from the African coast, Captain Welles took fever and died. The discharge of the cargo commenced about twelve o'clock on the day of arrival, and continued till about twelve o'clock at night, after which the schooner was taken out further from the shore and burned.

Elihu Burritt has purposed a new programme of pacification, by which the United States, the Confederate States, Mexico, Canada, and the other British Provinces, shall enter into a league, offensive and defensive, as so many independent nations, and "in which the South shall relinquish all claims to the return of fugitive slaves."

We compile from a comprehensive table just furnished from the U. S. Census office the following expressive table:

Census of	White.	Free Col'd.	Slave.	Total.
1790.....	3,172,464	59,466	697,897	3,929,827
1800.....	4,301,501	109,395	893,041	5,305,937
1810.....	5,862,004	186,446	1,191,364	7,239,814
1820.....	7,661,931	233,504	1,538,125	9,433,560
1830.....	10,537,378	319,599	2,009,043	12,866,020
1840.....	14,195,695	386,303	2,487,455	17,069,453
1850.....	19,553,114	431,449	3,204,313	23,191,876
1860.....	27,003,081	482,122	3,953,587	31,443,790

WEST INDIES.—*Dominica.*—Fifty labourers, dwelling on land adjacent to *Melville Hall Estate*, Dominica, have just bought 360 acres of land which had become escheated to the Crown. The upshot price was 1*l.* an acre. The purchasers are Wesleyan members of the Rev. Mr. Podd's Church.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 7th February.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. PORTMAN brought up the report on the address in reply to Her Majesty's speech, and on the motion that the report be agreed to,

Mr. GREGORY said he was unwilling on the preceding evening, on the occasion of the address, to introduce any subject which could have given rise to a debate. But there was one topic which was on the lips of every one, and which was uppermost in the minds of every person in this country, and that was the effects which the lamentable war in America had produced upon the industry of the United Kingdom. It was

not his intention, however, at the present moment, to enter into that subject, but there was one point connected with the war which he thought he or any other member was fully justified in taking the earliest opportunity of inquiring into—and that was the condition of the blockade. He had taken upon himself this duty, because, last year, he put three questions to the Foreign Secretary, one of which had reference to this subject. He asked Earl Russell, upon the 6th of May, whether the Government of the United States had been informed that the blockade of any part of the Southern Confederate States, unless effective, would not be recognised? The reply of the noble lord on that occasion was, that he had not felt it necessary to give any instructions to our Minister on that subject; that it was well known to Lord Lyons, and had been declared law by the United States, that no blockade should be recognised or deemed valid unless it were an effective blockade; and he (Earl Russell) had no doubt there would be no difference between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States upon that point. Now, a document had been placed in his (Mr. Gregory's) hands within the last few days, which gave him reason to believe that more than a doubt existed as to whether this blockade was effective. He believed he should be in a position to shew that in a great measure this blockade could only be considered as a paper blockade; but he had no wish now to forestall the discussion which must arise on the papers which he understood would be laid before the House. He only brought forward the question on that occasion, in order to say that he should most unquestionably take some early opportunity of bringing the whole question of the effectiveness of the blockade before the House; because, if the figures which he should be prepared to quote were acknowledged to be true, then he thought the House of Commons would pronounce that the blockade was not effective. On the other hand, it would rest with the Government to pronounce whether they considered the blockade to be effective or not. While they looked upon all these matters in a conciliatory spirit as regarded the United States—while he should be the last person to advocate any act of hostility or severity towards that country—still, as this country had acknowledged there were two belligerent parties, he thought that, in justice to both, and also in justice to the suffering manufacturing population of this country, that House could not take too early an opportunity of discussing this subject, and of ascertaining, both for their satisfaction and our own, whether the blockade really was or was not effective.

Admiral WALCOTT confessed for himself that he did not altogether view with regret the affair of the *Trent*, because it had called forth a display of patriotic spirit, and a memorable spirit of honest indignation on the part of the whole population of this country, and it had also served to make manifest in the most signal manner the attachment, love, and loyalty of the inhabitants of our magnificent North-American colonies to the mother country. He congratulated the country on the exhibition of feeling on the part of the Naval Reserve, and the manner in which

they had come forward on that occasion. Never had their navy been in a more complete state of effectiveness than at the present moment, and never had they been so capable of manning the navy, and that by men who had expressed their willingness to give their services for that purpose whenever an emergency should arise.

Mr. BENTINCK had heard with pleasure the announcement of the hon. member for Galway. Two questions were involved in the matter—the commercial interests and the character of the country. If his hon. friend could substantiate the statement he had foreshadowed, that the blockade had been practically a paper blockade, the character of this country was, to a great extent, involved. He believed it was quite admitted, on all hands, that the recognition of a paper blockade was a violation of international law;

and, in that case, assuming, for the sake of argument, that it could be shewn that the blockade had been nothing but a paper blockade, he should then beg to know what became of the principle of non-intervention, of which we had heard so much; because, unless the blockade could have been shewn to have been effectual, it appeared to him that it was beyond dispute that the recognition of such a blockade was practically, and in every sense of the word, an act of intervention on the part of this country in favour of the Northern States. It would therefore be necessary for Her Majesty's Government to show that there was no foundation for the assumption that the blockade had not been practically efficient. Taking this view of the subject, he was sincerely glad that the hon. member intended to bring the subject before the House.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Friday, Feb. 14th.)

DESTRUCTION OF CHARLESTON HARBOUR.

The Earl of STANHOPE rose to put a question to the Foreign Secretary in reference to a report which had just reached this country, that a second squadron of ships laden with stone had been despatched by the Government of the United States, to be sunk in Maffitt's Channel, in front of Charleston harbour; and also that a third squadron, laden in a similar manner, was in progress of equipment for a similar object. He wished to know from the noble earl whether he had received any despatches from Washington in confirmation of that report, and, if so, what course he intended to take in the matter. The former despatches of the noble earl had laid before the American Government, in so comprehensive a form, and with such unanswerable arguments, the considerations which ought to guide them in regard to such enterprises, that he had hoped that it had settled the question. That despatch seemed to be a most worthy sequel to the policy with respect to American affairs, which all parties were agreed in thinking had done so much credit to the noble earl, and had so fully vindicated the honour of the country, and to the approbation which had already been bestowed on that policy, he begged to add his humble meed of praise. It was difficult to see how the sinking of large ships, laden with stone, on banks of mud at the entrance of a harbour, could end in any thing else but the permanent

destruction of that harbour; and it was on that ground, as far as he could understand, that the measure was originally put forward, and afterwards justified. The permanent destruction of a harbour was not justified by the laws of war. War undoubtedly sanctioned many grievous acts, but it did not sanction any act of this kind. The permanent destruction of a harbour was not an act of war of man against man, or of nation against nation, but it was an act of war against the bounty of Providence, which had vouchsafed harbours for the advantage of commerce and for the civilizing influences of intercourse between one people and another. On this ground we were entitled, and were bound, to enter a protest against such acts. He wished to hear from the noble earl whether these reports were well founded, and, if so, whether he had taken, or designed to take, any steps in the matter. He should also wish to know whether the noble earl had received any communication from the Government of France on the subject, and whether the Government of France, to his official knowledge, had made any similar representations to the Government of the United States with respect to the destruction of the Port of Charleston.

Earl RUSSELL said the Government had no official information on this subject subsequent to that which had already been laid on the table of the House. However, the sinking of vessels at the mouth of a harbour was an operation of so much importance that he could not but believe that the reports which had appeared must have some foundation. He was happy to hear the noble earl's protest against the permanent destruction of any harbour. Considering that these were commercial harbours, and that, in time of peace, when there was severe weather, vessels of all nations, even those not ultimately destined for them, ran there to find refuge, to destroy them was undoubtedly an act of barbarity. The noble earl would have seen that the reply of the American Government was, that these stone vessels were intended to be an obstruction in the channel to aid the blockade, but that they were not intended for the permanent destruction of the harbours. In conversing with the American Minister at this Court, that was the view which he took. He said that the permanent destruction of Charleston harbour was impossible; that the two rivers which formed the harbour would be sure to make a channel; and that it was impossible, even if it had been intended, to effect the permanent destruction of the harbour. That he said, however, was not the intention. The intention was only to make a temporary obstruction, and, when peace was restored, that obstruction would be removed. That he believed was the view taken by the American Government. There had been some communication between Her Majesty's Government and that of France on this subject, with regard to which the Government of the Emperor took the same view as that of Her Majesty. But whether France had made any official representation on the matter to the Federal Government he was not able to say.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Friday, Feb. 14th.)

THE KING OF DAHOMEY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

LORD A. CHURCHILL, in putting the question of

which he had given notice to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said it would be unnecessary to remind the House of the painful feeling excited by the horrible massacres which had taken place in Dahomey. Reports of similar cruelties continued to be received, though not on so extensive a scale, some twenty or thirty miserable captives being killed every two or three nights. A letter which he had received represented the King as being friendly to France, Spain, and Portugal, but hostile to England; and, being completely in the hands of the mulatto slave-dealers, it was easy to discover their motive for instigating the King to acts of barbarity. Their object was to drive away Englishmen, as they knew that if once these gained any influence in the country, the unlawful gains arising from the slave-trade would be at an end. There was some belief that the present would be a favourable time for sending a British Commissioner to Dahomey, and in any such mission he thought it would be well that Commissioners from France, Spain, and Portugal, should be invited to join, in order that he might see he could not really count on the support of civilized nations. In the present distress, arising from dearth of cotton, we naturally looked to India for supplies; but the shortness of the staple was such, that, as compared with American cotton, our operatives sustained a loss in manufacturing it equal to twenty-five per cent. The African cotton approximated much more closely to the American than that which was obtained from India, and by getting a supply from Africa, therefore, the wages of our operatives would virtually be increased to the extent of twenty-five per cent. The entire country from Dahomey to the Niger was one vast cotton-field. The cotton plant was indigenous and perennial, consequently it did not require replanting year by year as in America: the crop had only to be picked and sent home. Of the sugar crop the same might be said; so that, in considering this question, the House would not be dealing with it purely from a sentimental point of view. They would naturally be animated by such high principles as the desire to arrest cruel practices, and, if possible, to put an end to the slave-trade altogether, but they might at the same time feel that they would be conferring great and direct commercial advantages on this country if they could establish in Dahomey a better state of things. The King was at present completely in the hands of the slave-dealers, but if he saw that his resources would be increased, and his own position secured by legitimate commerce, there was reason to believe that he would be willing to listen to representations urged by responsible Commissioners. The noble lord concluded by asking the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to send a Commissioner to Dahomey to treat with the King for the entire abolition of his barbarous sacrifices of human beings, and for the discontinuance of the slave-trade in his dominions; and further, whether there was any objection to lay upon the table of the House any correspondence or memorials that may have been addressed to the Government on this subject.

Mr. CAVE concurred with the objects advocated by the noble lord, but feared that a barbarian

like the King of Dahomey would not understand any argument except force, and would not be bound by any treaty. He had received information, that even our new settlement of Lagos, the importance of which as a cotton-producing country could not be over-estimated, was in great danger from its proximity to Dahomey, and that its safety lay in the presence of Captain Bedingfield, who had great influence with the natives, and who had anchored the *Prometheus* off the town. He (Mr. Cave) wished to take the opportunity of bringing an important point connected with this question before the Government. He had intended making it a specific question, but thinking that, in our present relations with America, it would be better not to do so, he determined to take advantage of some occasion like the present merely to mention it, and express a hope that it would receive attention. He had heard from the West Coast of Africa that the whole American slave squadron had been withdrawn, except one sailing corvette; that in consequence every slaver carried American colours, and our cruisers had not even the miserable expedient of towing a suspected vessel to an American ship-of-war. Unless some expedient were devised, a large increase in the slave-trade must be expected, which had only been delayed by a commercial crisis in Cuba. The same writer enlarged on the absurdity of sending recaptured Africans to St. Helena and Sierra Leone, instead of direct to the West Indies; but as he (Mr. Cave) intended bringing this subject before the House, when the expenditure caused thereby came before them in the Estimates, he would say no more then: but he begged to remind Her Majesty's Government that the authorities of the Federal States had lately expressed, in the most marked manner, their determination to put down the slave-trade, and had even condemned a slave captain to death in New York; so that it was possible they might consent to some, if only temporary, measure, such as a relaxation of their rules respecting right of search, so as to prevent the mischief which would otherwise arise from the withdrawal of their squadron.

Lord PALMERSTON—Sir, in regard to the question put by my noble friend (Lord A. Churchill) with respect to Dahomey and the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, the House knows very well that measures for the suppression of that traffic have occupied the most anxious and active attention of Her Majesty's Government for a great number of years. My noble friend probably knows well enough that two missions have been sent out at different times to the late King of Dahomey for the purpose of endeavouring to persuade him to abandon that barbarous and inhuman practice of human sacrifice, and to assist us in suppressing the slave-trade. I am sorry to say that they were not attended with success. Persons, however anxious they may be for the attainment of their objects, must recollect what obstacles the passions and habits of mankind sometimes oppose to what they have in view. This practice of human sacrifices has prevailed extensively over the whole of that part of Africa; and when you go to a barbarian (like the King of Dahomey for the time being), and ask him to forego these practices, to which he has attached a

value as symbols of authority and power, and as being tokens of respect for those who have gone before him, it is just as if you asked the ancient Romans to forego the murders which were committed in the amphitheatres, or the Spaniards of the present day those bullfights, which would disgust an Englishman, but which afford great delight to spectators in Spain. Mr. Duncan was sent some time ago to the King of Dahomey, and the account he gave was something utterly disgusting. The palace was surrounded by a large and extensive wall, which was decorated with human skulls on spikes. He himself was compelled to be a witness to one of those human sacrifices, where the unhappy captives were put into things like canoes, and thrown over a parapet from forty to fifty feet high; and, if not killed by the fall, they were despatched by people standing below. Nothing was accomplished by the mission; and I very much doubt whether any persuasion would induce the present King of Dahomey, who seems, if possible, less imbued with feelings of humanity than his father, to abandon this practice. At the same time, I can assure my noble friend and the House that no opportunity will be lost which appears to Her Majesty's Government calculated to effect an opening with the King of Dahomey for effecting our object. With regard to the slave-trade, I fear persuasion will not induce him, any more than other African chiefs, to abandon it. They will only be induced to abandon it when convinced that it would be more to their advantage, and more easy for them to carry on legitimate trade. The fact is, that the chief derives great profit from the slave-trade, while the people under him derive more profit from legitimate trade. The occupation of Lagos has resulted in impeding the slave-trade in that quarter; and if we could only shut up Whydah, we should have done much to drive the slave-trade from that part of the coast. But, as stated by my noble friend, the slave-trade is carried on by Spaniards, Portuguese, and Brazilians; and, though their Governments have, as Governments, abandoned the practice of the slave-trade, yet habits to which people are once trained are very difficult to be eradicated. At the same time much progress has been made, and my noble friend is right in saying that, if this slave-trade from the West Coast of Africa could be stopped, there are sources there of legitimate trade of infinite value, not only to that country itself, but to England, and a great part of Europe. Cotton plants have been seen growing naturally, within a great zone, in great abundance, and shedding the cotton on the ground; and it is evident that this is a matter of great importance to the manufacturers of this country. I can assure my noble friend that no exertions will be omitted on the part of the Government, first of all to endeavour to eradicate the abominable system of human sacrifice, and in the next place to put a stop, as far as possible, to the slave-trade. It is quite true that, owing to the civil war in America, the Federal Government has withdrawn the greater part of their cruisers from the coast of Africa, and I cannot say, offhand, whether there still remains that number of guns which the United States are bound by treaty to maintain on that coast for the suppression of the

slave-trade; but it is quite true that the Federal Government have shewn the most anxious and sincere desire to put in force their laws against the slave-trade; and it may be expected that when the present unfortunate dispute in America terminates, whether in the establishment of one or two Governments, the American authorities will concur with Great Britain in some arrangement by which more effectual assistance may be given by American cruisers to check a crime which is a capital offence by the laws of the United States. With respect, therefore, to the African coast, I hope my noble friend will believe that we are anxious to carry out those views which he has so properly expressed.

THE DAHOMIAN SACRIFICES.

THE following interesting letter from Dahomey appeared in the *African Times*, the organ of the *African-Aid Society*, on the 22nd ultimo. We have italicised a passage at the close of the letter, which we consider worthy the attention of those who can find no word bad enough for the barbarian king, but abundant apologies for so-called civilized Spain.

"TO THE SECRETARY OF THE 'AFRICAN-AID SOCIETY' AND EDITOR OF THE 'AFRICAN TIMES.'

"—, Dahomey, Nov. 30, 1861.

"SIR—After reading the *African Times*, and finding the objects of your Society, feelings of joy impel me to employ myself in any way I can possibly to aid you with all dependable information, that the kind African friends may see the wants of the objects on whom they desire to shew mercy; and may He, the Father of Light, ever bless and crown their labour with abundance of success! I have not the least doubt but that the mind of the African friends in Christian England will be stimulated to employ all power within their means to make an end of the inhumanity in the kingdom of Dahomey, when they become acquainted with what is going on now, and what has passed in the months of July and August last.

"It is a pleasure to the King of Dahomey to cut the heads off human beings, to shew the strangers who visit him in the seasons of his annual customs, but especially to the English, or people connected with the English. His first reason is, that the surrounding countries may fear him when they hear of it, so as to present themselves to him as his subjects; the second is, that the English forbid his best trade, and that is in slaves: he will therefore kill every one that he catches in war. Some of these poor victims of the Dahomian cutlass have to receive a good flogging, and from a sharp, cutting whip, while their necks are on the blocks ready for the cutlass. The cutting off their heads was not sufficient punishment for the crime of trying to defend themselves, or to prevent their being kidnapped and sold for slavery. To say nothing of the number (upwards of 1500) killed to be the attendants of the late king Gezo in the other world, with bullocks, rams, goats, cocks, drakes, and guinea fowls, by the new King, for the great funeral custom of his late father, and who

butchered the human beings just in the same way as he did the bullocks, &c.—the blood of man and beasts mingled in one hole made on the ground at the gate of the palace—I shall only speak of what is going on now, and that of July and August last. I started from Whydah on the 4th of June, and reached Abomey on the 7th. On my arrival, I missed several of the captains, and there were very few men in town. When I made inquiry, I learnt that they were gone to attack some place. In about four days the king sent out about 500 men for another expedition. On the 15th, those who went first returned to Abomey with 600 slaves, men, women, boys, and girls, and forty heads of those who made resistance. I was called out to the king's gate to see the train. Each slave is followed by the one who caught him, holding the end of the string. How loud the sight cried for Christian England to help the weak against the mighty! The train comprised several grey-headed men and women. Some of them scarcely could walk. The sick among them were bound in cloth to poles, and carried. Their crime was that they did not come to the custom for his father, and they laughed at those who came from some towns behind them to present things to the king for the custom. The next day the slaves were delivered to the king: the very old ones were put aside to be killed, the young and the middle-aged were put aside to be sold.

"Five days after this, the second warriors returned, with more than 200 slaves. Being disturbed in the counting, I did not get the correct number after the 200.

"The slaves were brought to the king, as in the first case.

"As the captains passed before the king, they prayed him to hasten the time when Abbeokuta shall have no more name amongst the countries in the world.

"In about a week after this he started for Kanna, one of his chief towns, about eight miles east of Abomey, where he has a large palace. Here he fixed a day for the commemoration of the victory gained by his late father over the Ayors, to whom the Dahomians were tributary.

"He sent out another expedition from this, and they brought 140 slaves, who were treated as stated above.

"On the 30th June the first custom, or the commemoration of the victory over the Ayors, was held. It was the last annual custom with his father; but he, wishing to have things changed to his own fashion, began with this.

"The first thing was, that the King came to a large yard in the palace, where big umbrellas were fixed; under them he laid himself on a couch, surrounded by Amazons; then singers of both sexes began their work, one after the other, singing all the strong names they could imagine. It will be tedious to mention all the ceremonies; but, on July the 2nd, which was a day only for the chiefs to hear the singers in their respective places, the King came out unexpectedly, having before him twelve Ayor people, holding in their hands a piece of silk damask and one piece of cotton shirting, went round the market three times, then came and sat himself about ten feet from where I was sitting, looking on the dancing

and hearing the singing, and called audience, and told the reasons of what he had done; and that was, the former kings served the Nago Ayors, and paid heavy tribute yearly; and that those who were sent to collect the tribute were such extortioners, that they would claim nothing but silk damask and that kind of shirting. Such treatment all the former kings underwent, except his late father, who would not submit: he therefore turned to and fought them, and became conqueror over them. Those of them he caught he killed, and with their blood mixed mud, and built the beasts' house in the palace of Kanna; and that market where he was sitting being the very place where the collectors had to meet to receive their meals from the chiefs of Dahomey, he could do nothing better to shew the happiness and privilege which his father had bequeathed to him than making twelve of the sons of Ayor bear in their hands the cloths as mentioned above, that they may relate to their ancestors, in the other world, the change which his father had made. Here he called some of his captains, and gave them about two fathoms each of the silk damask, and explained that he did this because the Ayors would not allow silk damask to be worn at Kanna. Now the Ayors holding the cloths shall have to tell their fathers in the other world that it is not only worn to cover their nakedness, but to sweep ground with. The captains who received it wore it in such a way as to sweep the ground, and walked about where the twelve poor fellows were standing, having some of the skulls of their ancestors in a large brass pan before them. The poor fellows did not know that they were to be killed until now; and how they did look and tremble! Who could rescue them from the lion's mouth? We shall soon see their fate. The speech was then turned against the Abbeokutans, and the English people who resided there.

"Now the Ayor people are no more his enemies, but the Abbeokutans," he said. "Abbeokuta is not to be counted with the number of the existing countries. They say," he said, "they have the English on their side: he has not only one European nation to be on his side; he has France, Spain, and Portugal on his side, against England and Abbeokuta; or, rather, not against England herself, but those who have gone out, and reside in his enemies' country against him. For them he has given whips already to his captains, and he will tie them all, and bring them to Kanna to be hung there." One of his captains interrupted him by asking his favour to order his chief minister to mark out a place where those English caught shall be hung. The place was marked directly, and a banyan-tree was cut to plant there until the time came for the flag-staff to be fixed and strung with the English. Then he told Mr. — that he thought the English Queen does not know, or has not given such orders on which *that consul* is acting with some of the men-of-war officers. "Stop," he said, "it is only at Porto Novo they will cut their capers; but to Whydah, or any port belonging to Dahomey, they dare not come." He called out the Governor of Whydah, and told him that whenever he sees any English vessel landing emigrants at Whydah he must allow

them to come ashore, and kill every one of them. The French or any other may do so, but not the English, because he has heard that when they want to take any place they cunningly land emigrants, and in a day these become their soldiers. Here he finished his speech, when Mr.

— got up, and told him that the English Queen and Government are still his friends, and, of course, if they had any cause of complaint, they would send direct to tell him; but that of the actions of the consul, or the men-of-war officers, being unknown to the Queen or the Government, may so far be true, such as the late Mr. Consul Foote's affairs with Porto Novo. He may not, perhaps, send to ask the Government before he took any severe measures, being empowered to do what he thought proper, but would afterwards acquaint the Government; and, if they approved of it, it would be a name or promotion to him. His Majesty told Mr. — he had spoken the truth, presented a decanter of rum, and then got up to dance for joy, because his father had not left him in the bondage of the Ayors. On the 4th the twelve poor Ayors were sent out to hear the singers.

"The evening of the 5th was an evil night, being a night previous to the passing round the market all his furniture to shew his people.

"On the morning of the 6th I found at the gate leading to that part of the palace where he sat last for the custom, seven human heads, freshly cut, four laid on one side and three on the other, with their faces on the ground.

"In the palace he (the King) sat just about the same place, but under a large tent, surrounded by the Amazons. The chiefs and captains having passed round before the King with their silk dresses, and so on, about one o'clock they commenced passing with the furniture, cowries, and cloths, which are to be thrown to the people some few days to come. Presently came on two of the poor Ayors, bound in baskets, each being carried by two of the Amazons. Next came an alligator and a cat, bound in the same way. Next came six of the Ayors. In the same manner a few other things passed; and then came four more, all bound as described, only in cases instead of baskets. His wives were the last, dressed with silks of different kinds.

"The cowries, cloths, tobacco, and the other things, except the furniture, were thrown over to his people from a sort of platform on which he goes to stand; and the poor Ayors were thrown from the platform, except two he pardoned. These poor fellows were not criminals: they were people caught in war some time ago, and kept in prison. This custom lasted twenty days; and there were more than fifty killed before I left Kanna for Whydah.

"The King was to start from Kanna to Abomey, to hold the Horses' Custom; but the month of September being evil moon to them, no custom must be held in it; so that the custom was postponed to October.

"The King started at the appointed time for Abomey. All the Whydah chiefs who had returned home started again for Dahomey.

"The custom commenced as soon as the Yevoga of Whydah reached Dahomey.

"Dahomey has two customs, which come in

turns annually. One is Attor, and the other Sorsi. The former is a sort of platform erected (with sticks), on which the King has to sit or stand, to throw things to his people. The latter is a shed, supported by several poles, and to each pole people appointed to be killed at a certain period of the custom are fastened one by one. The late King never exceeded thirty men at a time in all the days of his reign.

"This latter custom is what is going on now.

"Instead of one shed, he made double, one on the other, and ninety men fastened to the poles, and there was not one pardoned: every one was killed.

"In this custom he has to pass the furniture round the market, just the same as the other; and before doing so the night previous must be evil night. The evil night carried away thirty-two. Two small trees were transplanted to the palace gate that night; and on each of these trees hung eight heads of the men killed in the night, as the fruits of the trees. Although this custom has nothing to do with a platform, he erected one; and on this he formed some stick-work, and laid a man on them, well fastened, and covered him with white baft, and saddled him; which was to imply that his late father rode on so high a white horse that he saw every thing in the world; that there was nothing hid from him. He also bound two men close to the poor fellow as his ostlers. All were left there until they were dead. He had three more evil nights; and on each occasion he had forty men killed. These poor fellows all fell victims under the Dahomian cutlass in the month of October. And does not the blood of these poor fellows cry to the Christian English to hasten themselves for the rescue of the weak and innocent from the mighty? As soon as the custom is entirely finished the lion of the Bights will be up to seek more poor fellows for his cutlass, or for the slavers, to obtain money. I believe Christian England will embrace all chance to make an end of the slave-trade. *The King of Dahomey throws all the fault upon those who bring vessels to purchase slaves in his country: he would sell none if no vessel came to purchase.* What will Christian England do to stop this trade? Just about a month ago an American schooner left Whydah with upwards of 200 slaves, although the ships of war have been watching the schooner as closely as they possibly could.

"Trusting to find you well,

"I am your obedient servant,

"_____."

MR. MILL ON THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

FRASER'S Magazine for last month contains an excellent article from the pen of Mr. J. S. Mill, the celebrated political economist, treating of the contest in the United States, and which touches upon the suggested recognition of the Southern Confederacy in terms which will meet with the approval of every sound abolitionist in the realm. We reproduce it, believing it useful to preserve so excellent a protest against any league with slaveholders.

"The cloud which, for the space of a month, hung gloomily over the civilized world, black with far worse evils than those of simple war, has passed from over our heads without bursting. The fear has not been realized, that the only two first-rate Powers who are also free nations would take to tearing each other in pieces, both the one and the other, in a bad and odious cause. For while, on the American side, the war would have been one of reckless persistency in wrong, on ours it would have been a war in alliance with, and, to practical purposes, in defence and propagation of Slavery. We had, indeed, been wronged. We had suffered an indignity, and something more than an indignity, which, not to have resented, would have been to invite a constant succession of insults and injuries from the same and from every other quarter. We could have acted no otherwise than we have done; yet it is impossible to think, without something like a shudder, from what we have just escaped. We, the emancipators of the slave—who have wearied every Court and Government in Europe and America with our protests and remonstrances, until we goaded them into at least ostensibly co-operating with us to prevent the enslaving of the negro,—we, who for the last half century have spent annual sums, equal to the revenue of a small kingdom, blockading the African coast, for a cause in which we not only had no interest, but which was contrary to our pecuniary interest, and which many believed would ruin, as many among us still, though erroneously, believe that it has ruined, our colonies—we should have lent a hand to setting up, in one of the most commanding positions of the world, a powerful Republic, devoted not only to Slavery, but to pro-slavery propagandism—should have helped to give a place in the community of nations to a conspiracy of slaveowners, who have broken their connection with the American Federation on the sole ground, ostentatiously proclaimed, that they thought an attempt would be made to restrain, not Slavery itself, but their purpose of spreading Slavery wherever migration or force could carry it.

A nation which has made the professions that England has, does not with impunity, under however great provocation, betake itself to frustrating the objects for which it has been calling on the rest of the world to make sacrifices of what they think their interest. At present all the nations of Europe have sympathized with us; have acknowledged that we were injured, and declared, with rare unanimity, that we had no choice but to resist, if necessary by arms. But the consequences of such a war would soon have buried its causes in oblivion. When the new Confederate States, made an independent Power by English help, had begun their crusade to carry negro Slavery from the Potomac to Cape Horn, who would then have remembered that England raised up this scourge to humanity, not for the evil's sake, but because somebody had offered an insult to her flag? Or even if forgotten, who would then have felt that such a grievance was a sufficient palliation of the crime? Every reader of a newspaper to the furthest ends of the earth would have believed and remembered one thing only—that at the critical juncture

which was to decide whether Slavery should blaze up afresh with increased vigour, or be trodden out—at the moment of conflict between the good and the evil spirit—at the dawn of a hope that the demon might now at last be chained and flung into the pit, England stepped in, and, for the sake of cotton, made Satan victorious.

The world has been saved from this calamity, and England from this disgrace. The accusation would indeed have been a calumny. But to be able to defy calumny, a nation, like an individual, must stand very clear of just reproach in its previous conduct. Unfortunately, we ourselves have given too much plausibility to the charge. Not by any thing said or done by us as a Government or as a nation, but by the tone of the press, and, in some degree, it must be owned, the general opinion of English society. It is too true that the feelings which have been manifested since the beginning of the American contest—the judgments which have been put forth, and the wishes which have been expressed concerning the incidents and probable eventualities of the struggle—the bitter and irritating criticism which has been kept up, not even against both parties equally, but almost solely against the party in the right, and the ungenerous refusal of all those just allowances which no country needs more than our own, whenever its circumstances are as near to those of America as a cut finger is to an almost mortal wound—these facts, with minds not favourably disposed to us, would have gone far to make the most odious interpretation of the war, in which we have been so nearly engaged with the United States, appear by many degrees the most probable. There is no denying that our attitude towards the contending parties (I mean our moral attitude, for politically there was no other course open to us than neutrality) has not been that which become a people who are as sincere enemies of Slavery as the English really are, and have made as great sacrifices to put an end to it where they could. And it has been an additional misfortune that some of our most powerful journals have been for many years past very unfavourable exponents of English feeling on all subjects connected with Slavery; some, probably, from the influences, more or less direct, of West-Indian opinions and interests; others from inbred Toryism, which, even when compelled by reason to hold opinions favourable to liberty, is always adverse to it in feeling; which likes the spectacle of irresponsible power exercised by one person over others; which has no moral repugnance to the thought of human beings born to the penal servitude for life, to which for the term of a few years we sentence our most hardened criminals, but keeps its indignation to be expended on 'rabid and fanatical abolitionists' across the Atlantic, and on those writers in England who attach a sufficiently serious meaning to their Christian professions, to consider a fight against Slavery as a fight for God.

"Now, when the mind of England, and it may almost be said of the civilized part of mankind, has been relieved from the incubus which had weighed on it ever since the *Trent* outrage, and when we are no longer feeling towards the

Northern Americans as men feel towards those with whom they may be on the point of struggling for life or death; now, if ever, is the time to review our position, and consider whether we have been feeling what ought to have been felt, and wishing what ought to have been wished, regarding the contest in which the Northern States are engaged with the South.

"In considering this matter, we ought to dismiss from our minds, as far as possible, those feelings against the North which have been engendered, not merely by the *Trent* aggression, but by the previous anti-British effusions of newspaper writers and stump orators. It is hardly worth while to ask how far these explosions of ill-humour are any thing more than might have been anticipated from ill-disciplined minds, disappointed of the sympathy which they justly thought they had a right to expect from the great anti-slavery people, in their really noble enterprise. It is almost superfluous to remark that a democratic Government always shews worst where other Governments generally show best, on its outside; that unreasonable people are much more noisy than the reasonable; that the froth and scum are the part of a violently fermenting liquid that meets the eyes, but are not its body and substance. Without insisting on these things, I contend that all previous cause of offence should be considered as cancelled by the reparation which the American Government has so amply made; not so much the reparation itself, which might have been so made as to leave still greater cause of permanent resentment behind it; but the manner and spirit in which they have made it. These have been such as most of us, I venture to say, did not by any means expect. If reparation were made at all, of which few of us felt more than a hope, we thought that it would have been made obviously as a concession to prudence, not to principle. We thought that there would have been truckling to the newspaper editors and supposed fire-eaters who were crying out for retaining the prisoners at all hazards. We expected that the atonement, if atonement there were, would have been made with reservations, perhaps under protest. We expected that the correspondence would have been spun out, and a trial made to induce England to be satisfied with less; or that there would have been a proposal of arbitration; or that England would have been asked to make concessions in return for justice; or that, if submission was made, it would have been made, ostensibly, to the opinions and wishes of Continental Europe. We expected any thing, in short, which would have been weak, and timid, and paltry. The only thing which no one seemed to expect is what has actually happened. Mr. Lincoln's Government have done none of these things. Like honest men, they have said in direct terms that our demand was right; that they yielded to it because it was just; that if they themselves had received the same treatment they would have demanded the same reparation; and that if what seemed to be the American side of a question was not the just side, they would be on the side of justice; happy as they were to find, after their resolution had been taken, that it was also the side which

America had formerly defended. Is there any one, capable of a moral judgment or feeling, who will say that his opinion of America and American statesmen is not raised by such an act, done on such grounds? The act itself may have been imposed by the necessity of the circumstances; but the reasons given, the principles of action professed, were their own choice. Putting the worst hypothesis possible, which it would be the height of injustice to entertain seriously, that the concession was made solely to convenience, and that the profession of regard for justice was hypocrisy, even so, the ground taken, even if insincerely, is the most hopeful sign of the moral state of the American mind which has appeared for many years. That a sense of justice should be the motive which the rulers of a country rely on to reconcile the public to an unpopular, and what might seem a humiliating act; that the journalists, the orators, many lawyers, the Lower House of Congress, and Mr. Lincoln's own Naval Secretary, should be told in the face of the world, by their own Government, that they have been giving public thanks, presents of swords, freedom of cities, all manner of heroic honours to the author of an act which, though not so intended, was lawless and wrong, and for which the proper remedy is confession and atonement; that this should be the accepted policy (supposing it to be nothing higher) of a democratic Republic, shews even unlimited democracy to be a better thing than many Englishmen have lately been in the habit of considering it, and goes some way towards proving that the aberrations even of a ruling multitude are only fatal when the better instructed have not the virtue or the courage to front them boldly. Nor ought it to be forgotten, to the honour of Mr. Lincoln's Government, that in doing what was in itself right, they have done also what was best fitted to allay the animosity which was daily becoming more bitter between the two nations so long as the question remained open. They have put the brand of confessed injustice upon that rankling and vindictive resentment with which the profligate and passionate part of the American press has been threatening us in the event of concession, and which is to be manifested by some dire revenge, to be taken, as they pretend, after the nation is extricated from its present difficulties. Mr. Lincoln has done what depended on him to make this spirit expire with the occasion which raised it up; and we shall have ourselves chiefly to blame if we keep it alive by the further prolongation of that stream of vituperative eloquence, the source of which, even now, when the cause of quarrel has been amicably made up, does not seem to have run dry.

"Let us, then, without reference to these jars, or to the declamations of newspaper writers on either side of the Atlantic, examine the American question as it stood from the beginning; its origin, the purpose of both the combatants, and its various possible or probable issues."

SECESSION AND SLAVERY.

THE following song by Whittier, the American poet, has just appeared in the New-York journals. Its publication shews the immense progress which the cause of Abolition has made within the last twelve months:

"*Ein feste burg ist unser Gott.*"

(LUTHER'S HYMN.)

"We wait beneath the furnace blast
The pangs of transformation:
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mould anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.

"The hand-breadth cloud the sages feared
Its bloody rain is dropping;
The poison plant the fathers spared
All else is overtopping.
East, West, South, North,
It curses earth;
All justice dies,
And fraud and lies
Live only in its shadow.

"What gives the wheat-field blades of steel?
What points the rebel cannon?
What sets the roaring rabble's heel
On the old star-spangled pennon?
What breaks the oath
Of the men of the South?
What whets the knife
For the Union's life?
Hark to the answer: SLAVERY!

"Then waste no blows on lesser foes
In strife unworthy freemen,
God lifts to-day the veil, and shews
The features of the demon!
O North and South,
Its victims both,
Can ye not cry,
'Let Slavery die!'
And union find in freedom?

"What though the cast-out spirit tear
The nation in his going,
We who have shared the guilt must share
The pang of his o'erthrowing!
Whate'er the loss
Whate'er the cross,
Shall they complain
Of present pain
Who trust in God's hereafter?

"For who that leans on his right arm
Was ever yet forsaken?
What righteous cause can suffer harm
If He its part has taken?
Though wild and loud
And dark the cloud,
Behind its folds
His hand upholds
The calm sky of to-morrow!

"Above the maddening cry for blood,
Above the wild war-drumming,
Let Freedom's voice be heard, with good
The evil overcoming.
Give prayer and purse
To stay the curse
Whose wrong we share,
Whose shame we bear,
Whose end shall gladden Heaven!

"In vain the bells of war shall ring
Of triumphs and revenges,
While still is spared the evil thing
That severs and estranges.
But blest the ear
That yet shall hear
The jubilant bell
That rings the knell
Of Slavery for ever!

"Then let the selfish lip be dumb,
And hushed the breath of sighing:
Before the joy of peace, must come
The pains of purifying.
God give us grace
Each in his place
To bear his lot,
And, murmuring not,
Endure, and wait, and labour!"

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

BRIGHAM YOUNG LOOKING FORWARD TO A LONG WAR.—Brigham Young has sent 300 Mormons, with their families, to colonise the southern portion of Utah Territory, in order to strengthen the settlements already there, "in view," says the *Deseret News*, "of the great demand there will be for cotton and other products of a warmer climate than Great Salt Lake and the surrounding valleys, in the event that the civil war in the East should continue for a number of years." This is a sagacious movement on the part of the Mormon Prophet; but Government has recently set apart this section of the country for an Indian reservation, and Brigham's squatters will have to vacate. The Gentiles have got ahead of him this time, and the "patriarchal institution" will not have an opportunity to spread itself over the fertile and genial valleys of Southern Utah.—*Boston Courier*.

ARMING OF THE SLAVES.—The following was the speech of Mr. Cameron to the soldiers of Colonel Cochrane's regiment at Washington: Soldiers,—It is too late for me to make you a speech to-night, but I will say that I heartily approve every sentiment uttered by your noble commander. The doctrines which he has laid down I approve as if they were my own words. They are my sentiments—sentiments which will not only lead you to victory, but which will in the end reconstruct this our glorious Federal Constitution. It is idle to talk about treating with these rebels upon their own terms. We must meet them as our enemies, treat them as enemies, and punish them as enemies, until they shall learn to behave themselves. Every means which God has placed in our hands it is our duty to use for the purpose of protecting ourselves. I am glad of the opportunity to say, that I approve the doctrines this evening enunciated by Colonel Cochrane.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1862.

NOTICE.

WE beg respectfully to inform friends that their Subscriptions to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fell due on the 1st of January, and we shall feel obliged by their remitting the amount to L. A. Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad Street, E.C., London, to whom Post-Office Orders should be made payable.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE TO CUBA.

WE believe there is no more immediately practical subject to which the attention of anti-slavery friends throughout the country can be directed, than that of the African slave-trade to Cuba. Let our readers ponder the facts.

Forty thousand negroes were imported into Cuba in 1860-61.

Forty thousand negroes, introduced into that island, represent eighty thousand more who have not survived the horrors of capture, and of the middle passage.

It costs the tax-payers of Great Britain One Million sterling annually, in efforts to extinguish this traffic in human beings.

Since Great Britain undertook, in conjunction with other powers, to suppress the slave-trade, she has expended at least Forty-five Millions sterling for this purpose, but her efforts have been defeated by Spain.

Spain received from Great Britain, in 1818, Four Hundred Thousand Pounds for her promised concurrence in suppressing the slave-trade.

Spain has not only not taken any active measures for fulfilling her contract, but, in the latest-published despatches, declares, through the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Madrid, that the traffic in negroes to Cuba cannot be stopped until a system of immigration, on a large scale, has been organized.

The British Government have addressed remonstrances to that of Spain, which are treated with contempt.

It is notorious that if the Government of Spain positively commanded the cessation of the traffic in Slavery to Cuba, the Captain-General of that island possesses the powers necessary for its immediate extermination.

It is, however, equally notorious, that not only the Captain-General of Cuba, and the officials of the island, receive large bribes for their connivance at the introduction of negroes from Africa, but that some of the most eminent personages in Spain also parti-

cipate largely in the profits arising from the slave-trade.

It is not less notorious that the Captains-General of Cuba are usually court favourites, who are despatched to that island expressly as a reward for alleged services, and that they may realize fortunes.

General O'Donnell, the actual Prime Minister of Spain, was Captain-General of Cuba, and returned to Spain with an enormous sum of money, estimated at several millions of dollars, made principally by transactions with slave-dealers and slaveholders.

The Spanish Government has reason to believe that that of Great Britain is not earnest in its desire to suppress the slave-trade.

The people of this country may reasonably entertain the same opinion, for, were the contrary the case, it is not credible that the Governments which have ruled since 1817 would have permitted Spain to allow the prosecution of the traffic in open violation of existing treaties.

The African slave-trade has been reduced two-thirds since the cessation of it to Brazil, and it ceased there because the local authorities, stimulated by an honest Government, took active measures for its extinction, and closed the Brazilian market.

Were the Cuban market closed, and the demand for negroes stopped, the supply would necessarily cease.

The Spanish Government alone can close the Cuban market.

The people of this country, who have paid Forty-five Millions already, hoping to suppress the slave-trade, and who are still paying at the rate of a Million a year for the same object, have a right to demand of the Government that it shall insist upon the fulfilment by Spain of her part of the contract.

The Government, while professing an anxious desire to see the slave-trade suppressed, and while employing efforts in other directions, abstains from putting any pressure upon Spain.

The apathy of the Government, and of members of both Houses, is attributable to the apparent apathy of the community at large upon this subject.

In presence of this apathy of the Government, and of members of the two Houses of Parliament, it is obvious that no appeal to either is likely to produce any effect.

To overcome it, public opinion must declare itself, and, to this end, the public mind must be fully informed.

Late experience has proved that the public voice responds to an appeal on this subject. The public voice must clamour at the door of the Legislature, and demand, in uncompromising tones, that Government do its duty, and exact of Spain the fulfilment of her slave-trade treaties.

The Government will find a means of bringing Spain to a sense of her duties in this particular, so soon as it perceives and is made to feel that the people are in earnest.

Then let anti-slavery friends throughout the country promote an agitation for the accomplishment of the one practical purpose of the day—the total abolition of the African slave-trade to Cuba.*

ENGLAND AND AMERICA,

IN the actual position towards each other of England and the United States, it is deeply interesting to note the alacrity with which some of the foremost men in the latter country seize opportunities of endeavouring to dispel some of the illusions fallen into on this side, in relation to the state of feeling and of affairs there. Our readers will recognise the name of Gerrit Smith as one to command attention, and the subjoined letter, of which he has courteously forwarded us a copy, and which is addressed to a well-known and staunch advocate amongst us of the rights of the African race, is well worthy of record. Of course it will be understood that we do not, by giving this and other similar communications a place in our columns, thereby render ourselves responsible for the opinions of the writers.

GERRIT SMITH TO GEORGE THOMPSON.

England needs to soothe America.

"Peterboro", January 25th, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have read your recent speeches on 'American Slavery and the Present Crisis.' Not to speak of their other merits, they shew great knowledge of American affairs, and treat of them very temperately and judiciously.

"It was well that you employed your rich and commanding eloquence to prevent England from making war upon America. I hope you will now employ it to prevent America from making war upon England. You need not come here for this purpose. Stay where you are, and labour with others to bring your Government and people to such a sense and expression of their deep wrong against mine, as shall serve to take from the American heart the hatred of England which rankles in it. I refer in this wrong to nothing else than what has grown out of the *Trent* matter; for nothing else has made up any part of it. It is true that here and there was a sore displeasure with England for her sympathy with our rebels. But this sympathy might not have been so general as to make England responsible for it. Or it might have been more seeming than real. Or if it was indeed real, nevertheless it was not an offence of the grade or character to get angry with.

* A series of meetings is being organized in the provinces, to bring public attention to bear upon this subject. Communications may be addressed to L. A. Chamerovzow, 27, New Broad Street, E. C., London.

"I have impliedly predicted that America will declare war against England unless England shall prevent it. I scarcely need say that this prediction comes not of my wishes. I love England more than I love any other nation save my own. I cannot help the preference. A common lineage, language, and literature, are sufficient to account for it. Her heroes, scholars, philosophers, poets, and philanthropists I feel to be my own. And whilst many say that her oppression of Ireland, and her forcing of opium on the Chinese, are just worthy of her, I view them to be unworthy of her. The emancipation of her slaves—that was an act worthy of her greatness and glory. I said that I love her. I add that my countrymen loved her. The tears they shed for her when she was struggling with her horrid East-India rebellion were sincere. The welcome they gave her young Prince for his own sake, for his good mother's sake, and for dear old England's sake also, was unaffected and cordial. Moreover, I am opposed to war; and by war I mean the bloody collision of nation with nation. Every such collision I hold to be unnecessary and wrong, both on one side and the other. In no case may a nation declare war: and she may safely conclude that the moral power of her calm but unyielding refusal to arm herself against a declaration of war will protect her from it. Again, should it turn out that there are nations so low in civilization, and so insensible to restraining and reclaiming influences as to ignore or break through this power and fall upon her, nevertheless, there would be far more and far mightier nations to come to her rescue. These would not only honour her for her peace principles, but they would be prompt to resist every mean and guilty attempt to take advantage of them. Our poor war-cursed world waits for a nation to take this attitude. The nation so trustful in truth as to take it will find it not less safe than sublime, and will be followed in quick succession by her sister nations.

"That I should be opposed to war, and yet be in sympathy with our large Northern armies, may possibly be an inconsistency. Believing, however, as I have ever done, in the duty of Government to control its subjects, I am conscious of no inconsistency between my opposition to war and my sympathy with armies, however large, if their sole object is the quelling of domestic insurrections. If Russia would be willing to save unarmed France from armed England, it by no means follows that she would, on the same, or on any principle, be willing to employ her forces in subduing a French rebellion. France must take care of her own rebels. Every nation must, like every family, govern itself. The nation or family which cannot, had better be broken up.

"That whilst my loyal countrymen have, with scarce an exception, a stinging sense of this wrong done by England to America, there is but a comparative handful of them unqualifiedly opposed to war, fully justifies my strong fear that America will make war upon England.

"Is it strange that they should have this stinging sense? To be men, they must have it. The *Trent* had made herself, both in deed and spirit, part and parcel of the great American

conspiracy. 'The owner, and agent, and all her officers, including the Commander Williams, had knowledge of the assumed characters and purposes'* of the traitors whom she had taken on board. She was doing what she could to help on their mission of death to their country. And all this was in the face of the Queen's Proclamation, and in the face, too, of the punishment which the English Government had inflicted for the like offence when we were at war with Mexico. The *San Jacinto* overtook the *Trent*, and, out of kindness to her passengers, to English subjects and English interests, let her pass on after having taken the four traitors from her. England, on getting the news, did not punish the *Trent*, but declared war against America. Her first and immediate measure was actual war. Troops and arms were hurried off to our coast. Instantly men were put in motion to kill us. We were not to learn her spirit from the tone of her diplomatic correspondence on the occasion, but from her military movements. 'Actions speak louder than words.' If a man takes off his coat, and comes towards me with rolled-up sleeves and clenched fists, I shall not be comforted by his words, however far less threatening they may be. I shall still believe that he will whip me if he can. England proposed no umpirage: invited no explanation: would not even wait to learn whether our Government approved the conduct of the *San Jacinto*. But with cannon loaded and matches lighted, she stood demanding instant compliance with her peremptory terms. She did indeed wait to hear from us. But it was only that she might then decide whether to stop war. She had already made war.

"This was oppression indeed; and it was very hard to bear. Nevertheless, not so hard as the insult she combined with it. We knew, and we knew that she knew, that had such rebels gone out from her to compass her destruction, she would, without any delay or hazard by forms and ceremonies, have caught them wherever she could, and hung them. How keenly insulting to us was her arrogant position that our national dignity is not entitled to such prompt vindication as her's, and that our national safety falls immeasurably below her own in value and sacredness! She had neither forgotten nor regretted that she had taken thousands of entirely innocent men from our ships. What contempt then did she pour upon us when she virtually told us that she is so infinitely our superior, that we must not take from her ships so much as four men!—no, and not even if they are very guilty men! No doubt this is in her eye a fitting attitude for a nation of centuries of fame towards upstart America.

"But I pass on to speak of our circumstances at the time England declared war against us. Would that she had been moved by them to pity us, instead of being tempted by them to oppress us! We were struggling under a rebellion the mightiest ever known, and the wickedest ever known. It was very wicked because entirely unprovoked. Nay, whilst we had never encroached upon the rights of the rebels, we had

but seldom resisted their multiplied encroachments upon ours. Much more wicked, however, was the rebellion because it was a pro-slavery one. Facts prove that it was a purely pro-slavery one. Not a single Free State was drawn into it. Eleven of the Slave States rushed into it; and the remaining four would have followed had they not been restrained by the fear of Federal troops. The different sections in them all sympathize with the rebellion just in proportion to their respective interest in Slavery. Relieve Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, of the presence of Federal troops, and they would instantly join the rebellion. There are nominal slaveholders who care little or nothing for Slavery. But in all the land, North or South, there is not one man of the slaveholding spirit, who does not prefer the rebellion with Slavery to the Union without Slavery. But enough to prove the pro-slavery character of the rebellion is the intensely pro-slavery character of the Government which the rebels organized; though it may be well to add that nothing less satanic than the spirit of Slavery could have been sufficient to prompt men to so satanic a rebellion. How preposterous for the rebels to say, as they do for the purpose of winning Europe to their side, that our high tariff was unendurable! It was not high when the rebellion broke out; and the rebels had but to insist on its being lower to make it lower. Our high tariff is a war measure. It may be made much higher, and yet be no indication that a high tariff would, as a mere commercial measure, be approved by us.

"But it was not alone nor mainly from the magnitude and wickedness of the rebellion, that we were entitled to the world's pity. Much more were we entitled to it from the state of moral helplessness in which the rebellion found us. That Slavery had now burst upon us in its vast power did indeed make our case very pitiable. But far more pitiable was it from the fact that Slavery had so long deluded and debauched us, as to leave us incapable of arousing ourselves to resist this vast power. Great strength had we still to resist any other enemy. But in the presence of Slavery we were only poor paralytics. Far worse our condition than that of Laocoon. His soul was strong in his battle with the snake; But our snake had charmed our soul into powerlessness before the battle had begun. Very monstrous would it have been to come to the help of the snake entwined around Laocoon; but still more monstrous is it to come to the help of the snake entwined around America. Nevertheless, England does come to its help. Does she say that we are too debased to be pitied? I admit the debasement, the even brutish insensibility to human rights, which the Circean cup of Slavery has reduced us to. Nevertheless, were we as unhappily transformed as the companions of Ulysses, pity should still reach down to us. Besides, since it is Slavery that has so degraded us, and since it is England that fastened it upon us, especially ill does it become her to taunt us with our degradation, and take advantage of it. Does she bid us follow her example, and abolish Slavery? It was comparatively easy to abolish a Slavery no more

* Secretary Seward to Lord Lyons.

essentially connected with herself. But by a Slavery mixed up with all her relations and interests, and with all herself, she would have been made as helpless as we are.

"I need not go into arguments to prove our impotence against Slavery. A few illustrations of it will suffice.

"1st. Slavery is killing us. One word from our Government would kill it. Nevertheless, this one word cannot be spoken. Our poor Slavery-ridden Government cannot muster moral courage enough to speak it. That at such a time as this it should be studying and worshipping the Constitution, shews its utter incompetence to save us. The rebels flung away the Constitution at the very outset. They are too much in earnest to let papers trammel their efforts to destroy us. But we, alas! are so drugged and drunken by Slavery as to feel no right to meet these efforts save in ways strictly harmonious with every line of the Constitution, or (to express but the same meaning, in other words) strictly harmonious with the pro-slavery interpretations of the Constitution. Why is it that we do not worship our State Constitutions as well as the Federal Constitution? Every few years we cast them aside. The reason is that Slavery does not call for the worship of them. Our President is bound hand and foot by that pro-slavery regard for the Constitution in which he was educated. So too are most of our generals. General Sherman's Proclamation, on entering South Carolina, says: 'Carolínians, we have come as loyal men fully impressed with our constitutional obligations to the citizens of your State.' Surely we are under no more Constitutional obligations to them than we are to Arabs. In every part of the North you meet with this insanity about our constitutional obligations to the rebels. Congress abounds in it. What better, however, could you expect of a body that now, when the nation is on the very brink of ruin, and nothing should be thought of but conquering the foe by whatever means, constitutional or unconstitutional, and by whatever men, white, red, or black, is amusing itself with schemes of colonization? The remaining weeks in which Congress can do what may possibly save the nation are probably but few. How sad that any of them should be thus wasted!

"2nd. Although our nation should, on the breaking out of the rebellion, have abolished Slavery to prevent Slavery from abolishing it—doing so under that high necessity which supercedes all inquiry into the constitutionality of doing so—nevertheless (if shrinking from this summary and sweeping measure) it might have put down the rebellion without resorting to any direct action, or indeed any intended action, against Slavery. If, instead of making Slavery its special, nay, its supreme care, it had used its obvious and unrestricted constitutional liberty in composing its armies and in carrying on the war, the rebellion would have been suppressed in less than six months from the bombarding of Sumter. All must admit that the Constitution gives Congress the power to make up its armies as it will—of foreigners or citizens, of black men or white; and that it is under no more constitutional obligation to inquire whether the men who offer

themselves for enlistment are slaves, than whether they are apprentices or hirelings. In the exercise of this power, Congress could, both easily and speedily, have saved the nation. It is true that incidental to this exercise might have been the destruction of Slavery; but Congress would have been no more responsible for the destruction, than the Constitution would have been violated by the exercise. Had only the black population of the land been assured last spring that the North was its friend, the end, if not indeed the beginning of autumn, would have witnessed the end of the rebellion. And this it would have been assured of, had there been so much as one black regiment among the seventy-five thousand soldiers whom our President called for last spring. Not one gun would that regiment have needed to fire, and no occasion would there have been for another black regiment. The bare fact of its existence would have effectually and almost instantly, advertised all the blacks of our good-will, and to advertise them of that would have been sufficient to secure their deep and decisive sympathy. But, alas! the advertisement was forbidden. And instead of it, we have advertised them of our ill-will, by sending back cruelly and wickedly, and also unconstitutionally, great numbers of fugitive slaves.

"Such, my dear Sir, was the miserable condition of my poor Slavery-crazed and Slavery-cowed country when yours declared war against her. I said that it was keenly insulting in your nation to deny to Americans, in the case of American rebels, the liberty which England claims in the case of English rebels. Keen indeed was this insult; and very cruel and mean was the oppression of falling upon us in our helpless condition. For this insult and oppression England will soon have to answer, unless there shall be good feeling on her part to beget good feeling on ours. Very bad is our feeling towards her now; and even towards Canada. Already are we threatening (very foolishly I own) to terminate that new and mutually useful intercourse with Canada which should be enlarged and unending. Canada and the States should be brothers as well as neighbours.

"Vain is the attempt to pacify us by saying the *Trent* case has been settled on our own principles. It was not pleasant to have it settled even on our own principles, if we were compelled to have it so settled. Moreover, the compulsion is greatly aggravated by the fact that you would not have resorted to it, nor we yielded to it, had not our helpless condition emboldened you to the one and reduced us to the necessity of the other. But it is not true that the case has been settled on our own principles. I admit that it is American to settle questions with slaveholders whilst their rod is over our head. But I deny that it is American to settle them in such circumstances with foreign Powers. All vain is this attempt to hide in an affectation of high-souled regard for national consistency, and in a sublime show of magnanimous adherence to precedents, our blazing disgrace in the *Trent* case. The truth is, that the having of maritime principles is an honour which does not belong to America. Her opposition, in her infancy, to taking seamen from her ships was on the ground of their being

innocent men. But now she opposes the taking from them of even the pre-eminently guilty—of even slave-traders! Our maritime principles are but our maritime policy; and this has varied with our interests.

"Mr. Sumner's admired speech on the *Trent* case is characterized with his usual learning and eloquence, but not with his usual soundness. 1st. Most of the authorities he cites are far too old to express or be applicable to our present policy. 2nd. They do not apply to the *Trent* case, for the subject-matter in that is the proper disposition, not of innocent, but of guilty persons. They are plainly but to the point of taking innocent seamen from our ships. And most of his remaining authorities were doubtless intended to be but to the same point. He thinks that they were also to the point of taking ambassadors from neutral ships. The strong probability, however, is, that immunity but for seamen was intended by these authorities, although the literal import of their words provides immunity for ambassadors as well as for seamen. Moreover, if these authorities do really as well as literally cover ambassadors, they nevertheless do not meet the present case. We must not confound with the ordinary ambassador, whose honourable and sacred office it is to maintain a good understanding and friendly intercourse between nations, the execrable traitor who goes out from his country for help to destroy it. The ambassador represents a nation. Mason and Slidell but a horde of rebels; for as yet, that horde is acknowledged by itself only to be a nation. It by no means follows, if there can be an argument of some force for allowing the ambassador to pass on, that guilty emissaries, like Mason and Slidell, should also be allowed to pass on. But even Vattel, who says that the person of the ambassador is 'sacred and inviolable,' does not claim for him this exemption. He holds: 'Not only may we justly refuse a passage to the ministers whom our enemy sends to other Sovereigns; we may arrest them if they attempt to pass privately, &c.' Although he had in his mind but a passage by land, the principle applies equally to a passage by sea. But if upon Vattel's authority, the ambassador may be taken from the neutral ship, how much more the Masons and Slidells! Sir William Scott, the highest British authority on maritime law says: 'The belligerent may stop the ambassador of the enemy on his passage.' How much more, then, may he stop the Masons and Slidells!

"I confess that there can be an argument of some force against molesting the ordinary ambassador. Were England and America at war with each other, neither would be disposed to molest the ambassador of the other to Austria. The present case respects not the ordinary ambassador in whose protection and freedom the welfare of the world may be said to be interested. It respects emissaries who are more effectively as well as more guiltily identified with a superlatively wicked rebellion than are the soldiers in its armies. Who does not see that a pair of such emissaries, with their despatches, may be more important to the rebellion than a dozen ship-loads of soldiers? The whole spirit and sense of the law or principle which authorises the taking of soldiers out of the neutral ship, authorises with

the utmost emphasis the taking out of such emissaries also. Perhaps only one of all Mr. Sumner's numerous authorities is applicable in both letter and spirit to the taking of Mason and Slidell. I say in spirit; for who doubts that General Cass, who would spare even the slave-trader, would feel himself bound in consistency to spare every other criminal? I can but wonder at Mr. Sumner's temerity in quoting the General. I should sooner have expected him to exclaim; '*non tali auxilio!*' I admit if General Cass, the pre-eminent patron of the slave-trade, is to be taken as representing American principles, that then the *Trent* case has been settled on American principles. Surely the General, by proving too much for Mr. Sumner, proves nothing for him. Mr. Sumner has but weakened his argument by quoting him.

"So far as my reading and memory serve me, you can find nothing in the whole field of American authorities in favour of waiving the right of search in the case of any criminals save slave-traders. And is not Mr. Sumner very inconsistent with himself? In his speech he maintains the right of search with respect to slave-traders. Why, then, should he not maintain it with respect to those '*hostes humani generis,*' who were caught in performing a very essential part of the work of building up the most abominable slave-trading empire which the world has ever known? African slave-traders are doing upon a comparatively petty scale what Mason and Slidell are labouring to have done on a scale as broad as the whole earth. To be consistent, Mr. Sumner cannot escape from letting African slave-traders as well as Mason and Slidell pass on.

"The current of American authorities is no more with Mr. Seward's point of taking the ship into port, than with Mr. Sumner's point of taking persons from it. For the question with the great mass of those authorities was, not whether the ship should be taken, but whether seamen should be taken from it. Mr. Seward argues that it was American to let Mason and Slidell go. Had old John Brown, after his demonstration in Virginia, been caught in a neutral ship, would Mr. Seward have argued that it was American to let him go? Oh no! He did argue that it was right to hang him; and he would have argued that it was right to hold him. Poor old John Brown was the enemy of Slavery, and the friend of but his country. The noble Mason and Slidell were the friends of Slavery, and the enemies of but their country. And this, on American principles, makes a wide difference against the one and for the others.

"I said that the *Trent* case has not been settled on American principles. I add that it has not been settled on any principles. It has not been settled at all. Even what the case was, was not agreed upon by the parties; nor a step taken nor a proposition made to agree upon it. We have no right to say that England's acceptance of Secretary Seward's conclusion will bind her not to take her rebels from our ships; for the case he presents is not the case described in Earl Russell's letter to Lord Lyons. The earl speaks not of guilty emissaries and traitors, but of 'certain individuals,' and 'four gentlemen;' and surely 'individuals' and 'gentlemen' include

many whom it would with one consent be clearly wrong to force from a ship. In our haste to reach a propitiating conclusion and save ourselves from British guns, we made little account of premises.

"That the European nations, as well those who have as those who have not many ships, should be just now so much concerned for the rights of neutrals is not strange, for just now they are themselves neutrals. Were they belligerents they would speak in a different tone. But that our statesmen now, whilst America is a belligerent, should be vying with each other in extravagant concessions to neutrals would be marvellous indeed, were it not that by this means they can hope to make America satisfied with herself, instead of ashamed of herself at the way she has got out of the *Trent* trouble. Some of our statesmen go so far as to propose in respect to the sea the entire abolition of contraband of war. In their absorbing zeal for neutrals they forget that a belligerent has rights, and that in the event of such abolition another belligerent might, through neutrals, carry on an effective and fatal war against him. They forget, too, that by whatever principle war might be carried on through neutrals on the sea, it might be carried on through neutrals on the land also. Hence, when a couple of nations, France and England, for instance, should get to war with each other, they would have recruiting stations in other nations as well as in their own, and thus draw the world into their war. Hence, too, the Lopezes, and Walkers, and other Filibusters, would never lack for recruits to carry out their schemes.

"England is now favouring the doctrine that the neutral ship shall be exempt from search, provided she is going neither to nor from the port of a belligerent. But this is an absurd doctrine. Surely the question whether a neutral ship may serve a belligerent cannot be affected by the question whether the ship leaves our coast one rod north or one rod south of our boundary; nor by the question whether it reaches our coast a little one side or the other of that boundary. The ship may serve him quite as effectually in the one case as in the other.

"Horace Greeley, whose writings are always well worth reading, would let the neutral ship go free, provided she has not gone out of her way to serve the belligerent. But reason forbids that she should knowingly serve him either in or out of her way. Mr. Greeley holds the *Trent* to have been innocent, because she did not go out of her way to facilitate the guilty mission of Slidell and Mason. Was she innocent, provided they gave her 10,000 dollars? And is it at all improbable that they paid her a large indemnity for her risk in taking them? She did not need go out of her way to help the rebellion. In no other way so well as in what Mr. Greeley calls 'her usual and lawful voyage' could she help it.

"And why, I ask, should the sea police be less searching and strict than the land police? Because England has taken thousands of innocent persons from neutral ships, does it follow that the world is to relinquish the right to take guilty ones from them? I much question whether the relinquishment can be afforded. The right has been abused; and though new and

efficient securities against its abuse might not always prove sufficient, nevertheless let not the right—no, nor its summary exercise—be abandoned. By suitable regulations the amount of wrongs and losses attending this summary exercise could be made small compared with that attending the turning off of suspected vessels from their voyages into ports for trial—some of them having no contraband of war, and others, though having it, yet not knowing it. I hardly need add that these suitable regulations would ignore all claims to men on the ground of their being born here or there. Claims against the right of a man to expatriate himself and choose his country should not have been made after the dark ages.

"I said that the *Trent* case has not been settled at all. I of course meant that it had not been in any such way as deserves the name of settlement. But allowing our surrender to be a settlement—our *ex parte* or *quasi* settlement to be a real one—nevertheless we ought not to hide it from ourselves, nor make ourselves ridiculous by trying to hide it from the world, that the settlement, so far from taking place on American principles, was simply our compelled submission to England's principle of refusing to confess her own abounding sin, of construing her neighbour's innocence into sin; and of straightway following up the hypocritical construction with violence. She knew that the liberty we had taken with a few ineffably guilty men on board her ship was no greater than that she had taken with thousands of innocent men on board of ours. She knew that we had not insulted her. She knew that our captain was, so far as England and Englishmen were concerned, prompted by no other spirit than that of high respect and remarkable kindness. She knew, too, that she was insulting and outraging us by declaring war against us. Such, such was the principle to which we succumbed, and on which we were forced to make our peace with England. Oh call it not an American principle! It was purely an English one.

"What a pity, since the *Trent* case had to be settled on an English principle, that our Government did not propose to settle it on another English principle—on that by virtue of which England prefers taking men out of the vessel to taking the vessel! Our Government had no right to assume that England, having reduced this principle to practice in thousands of instances, and never given it up, would, on reflection, so dishonour it and dishonour herself, as angrily to object to the trial of it by another nation. Nay, our Government had no right to insult England by such an assumption. But I shall be told that our Government would not consent to settle the case save on American principles. Again I say that America has no maritime principles. Her conduct in regard to the slave-trade makes it exceedingly indecent in her to pretend that she has. Moreover, if this case has been settled on American principles, it is solely on her slave-trade principles, which forbid foreigners to search for criminals.

"How much better it would be, if our statesmen, instead of trying to make America believe that she had come out of this *Trent* matter with flying colours, should frankly confess the con-

trary! The simple truth is, that our nation had given herself up to the sway of Slavery; that the handful of abolitionists foretold her consequent destruction; that she laughed at them, and kept on in her madness until she was so far destroyed, as to be obliged to accept the humiliation which England disingenuously, meanly, and cruelly forced upon her. By the way, many of our pro-slavery men, instead of repenting, are charging the ruin of their country upon the abolitionists. But as well might they hold Jesus responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem, because He prophesied it. And just here let me say that nothing can be more untrue than the charge that the abolitionists are seeking to make the abolition of Slavery the object of the war. They admit that its one object is the salvation of the country. From this to any other they have never sought to turn the people. It is, however, entirely true, that whilst others would consent to sacrifice the nation in order to save Slavery, the abolitionists would consent to sacrifice Slavery in order to save the nation. No other class is so patriotic as the abolitionists. In every other there are traitors, but none amongst them. Select the soldiers who have the most heart in the war, and you will find them all abolitionists. Select those who have the least, or any other men who have the least, and you will find nearly all to be slanderers of the abolitionists.

"But I must draw my long letter to a close. Let not England argue from our insanity and impotence with respect to the rebellion that she has nothing to fear from a war with America. It is true that we cannot face Slavery any more than a slave can the whip of his master. Slavery is our master, and we are but trembling slaves in its presence. But it is also true that we are a strong and brave people, and can face any thing but Slavery; and it is further true that Slavery will soon be out of our way, and that we shall then come to be filled with shame and sorrow over our low and long subjection to it. Moreover we shall then be prepared to call our rulers to a very stern account for letting Slavery prolong a rebellion which might have been ended in a few months, and for letting it fill tenfold as many graves and roll up tenfold as great a burden of taxes as was necessary. Alas! and will there not also be the destruction of our nation for us to call them to account for? Reduced, however, though we shall be, to twenty millions of people by the success of the rebellion, nevertheless, the element of weakness being eliminated from it, our nation will be far more powerful than it was before.

"I assume, as you see, that the rebellion is to be successful. Every portion of my country is very dear to me, and I have done what I could to save it from division. But the only measure by which it can be saved from it its rulers obstinately refuse to adopt. This only measure is the identifying of the five millions of negroes with our cause. Victories we shall soon achieve; but they will be no substitute for this measure. They will only make its speedy adoption the more necessary; for their tendency will be to drive the South to identify by an act of emancipation those five millions with her own cause. When she shall be hard-driven by these victories,

her fears will tell her, and Europe will tell her, to save herself by giving up Slavery. Would that we might anticipate her in this measure, and thus save the nation, and bless its whole population, North and South, black and white! But from the day the President laid his hand on Fremont's proclamation, I have seen but little prospect of this good. Nay, when of late I have seen how smitten with blindness are our rulers in both church and state, and how few are the signs of repentance in either, I have strongly feared that it is too late to save our poor perishing nation—that no amount of human power, pervaded though it might be with the greatest human goodness, and controlled withal by the highest human wisdom, could save it. From the first I have had not the least doubt that the bombarding of Sumter was the killing of Slavery. But now I tremble with the apprehension that ETERNAL JUSTICE cannot be satisfied unless there be added to the freedom of the innocent slave the destruction of the guilty nation.

I have virtually said that whichever party wins the blacks win the battle. Many think that we would proceed to conquer the South even after she had emancipated the slaves. But they are mistaken. We then could not conquer her if we would, and would not if we could. We should have neither the physical nor the moral power adequate to it. The sympathy of the world would be with the South. The contempt of the world would fall upon us. And must we come to this? Almost certainly. To ask Congress and the Cabinet, after all we have seen of them, to save us from this, would be scarcely more promising than to ask dead men to walk. As an instance of the deadness of our rulers to all the claims of patriotism and self-respect, the Senate of the United States is, I fear, morally unable to expel that arrant and shameless traitor, Jesse D. Bright.

"Let me again express the hope that the philanthropists of England will labour to restore the exchange of good feeling between her and America. Let them to this end seek to better the bearing of the English press towards America. And let them explain to the English people that the base object of our pro-slavery Northern press in irritating England is to involve her in a war with us for the advantage of Slavery and the South. But above all, let them labour to convince England of her crime, in declaring war against us. And that was a crime, not against America only, but against the cause of Christian civilization also. If we did insult her, which we did not, she should not have tried to kill us for it. It is too late for a Christian nation to go to war for a mere insult. When it shall be right in one man to kill another for having insulted him, then, and not till then, will it be right in a nation to allow a mere insult to drive her to war. Love, and not pride, should be the animating principle of every nation as well as of every individual.

"You will mark that I have not, in any part of my letter, fallen in with the incessant American abuse of England for her lack of sympathy with the anti-slavery North. The North is not anti-slavery, emphatically not as she is seen through the action of her Government; and through that it is proper for England to see her

and judge of her. In respect to her relations to Slavery the North is entitled not to the sympathy, but only to the commiseration of England. However soundly anti-slavery England might be, consistency would not require her to have anti-slavery sympathy with the North. This much, however, I can say for the North, that a large and rapidly increasing share of her people are sincerely opposed to Slavery, and are filled with shame and sorrow because of her Slavery-bound rulers. Thousands of them are still toiling, as for many years they have been, under every reproach, and at every sacrifice, to break the yoke of their enslaved brother, and to save their beloved country. The breaking of that yoke is indeed an inexpressibly dear object to such men as Garrison and Phillips. But there are none more concerned than they are for the salvation of their country. The love of human rights does not interfere with patriotism. Nay, it is because of this love, that whenever you find a patriot of the truest type you, find him an abolitionist. The love of country, which he has in common with others, is fed and expanded in him by the love of universal man.

"I have further concessions to make in this connection. I do not believe that England sympathizes with Slavery in our rebellious States or anywhere else; and I do not believe that her need of their cotton can drive her to break the blockade of their ports. But I am pained by the apprehension that she will recognise the Government which has within the last year been set up over those States. That I am pained by it is not because the recognition would tend to weaken the hands of the North in her present struggle. Whether she shall or shall not succeed in this struggle depends (provided always that the nation is not too guilty to be saved) not on any other nation, but on the simple question whether she shall or shall not allow Slavery to keep hindrances in her way. Her way cleared of them, and she is saved. But with them remaining in it, she is lost.

"It is because this new Government is a piracy, and the most guilty and horrid piracy earth ever knew, that I am distressed at the thought of England's recognition of it. The day which shall witness such recognition will witness England's mighty influence for evil, and a sensible reduction of the moral power of the world. This new Government is sufficiently characterized when we have said that the great boast of its builders is that Slavery is its corner-stone. Would God that England and all Europe, instead of letting this Slavery-demonized Confederacy into the sisterhood of nations, might be inspired to say, as said Daniel Webster of another habitation where Slavery was plying its horrid work: 'Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it!'

"With great regard, your friend,

"GERRIT SMITH."

"HON. GEORGE THOMPSON, ex-Member
British Parliament.

THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS AND THEIR CONSTITUENCY.

It is well that the anti-slavery public should be kept quite up to the mark with respect to the views and opinions of the constituents they represent, and whose independence they are so anxious should be recognised by the European Powers. We referred, in our last, to Mr. Yancey's attempted vindication of himself against the allegation that he favoured the re-opening of the African slave-trade to the Southern States. The following letter, from the Commander of the United-States steamer *Tuscarora*, recently in British waters, will have its proper weight. As an additional piece of evidence, it is not without its value.

MR. YANCEY ON NEGROES AND NUTMEGS.

To the Editor of the *Star and Dial*.

"SIR,—Mr. Yancey, in a laboured article in the *News* of the 25th, has endeavoured to convince the public that he has always been opposed to the slave-trade, that all of his public efforts have had that tendency, all of his speeches, all of his writings, have expressed but that one pious and earnest desire.

"We have heard of lunatic paupers, who in their mania imagined themselves kings and potentates; and if there were any link wanting to complete the chain of evidence of Southern insanity, Mr. Yancey has himself inserted it by this fanciful sketch of his efforts in the cause of humanity. Can he really imagine that any intelligent man will believe that his political career has been marked by any thing else than a mania on the rights of slaveholders, and the oppression that worthy and benevolent class of men suffer at the hands of the men of the North, whose great offence, in the eye of Mr. Yancey, has been in saying to slaveholders—'We accord you, at present, all the rights guaranteed under the Constitution—thus far shalt thou go and no further'—the area of Slavery shall not be extended.'

"The injured Mr. Yancey 'has made but one speech on the African slave-trade,' and 'cannot at this day say what he did or did not say in that speech.' If Mr. Yancey had said that his speech had occupied nine years instead of 'nine hours,' he would have come nearer to the truth, as his voice in public life has never been pitched to any other note; and as to what he 'has or has not said' on the subject, we can readily believe it to be very inconvenient to have it remembered at this period, and in this country. It is remarkable, however, that he should expect to make Englishmen believe him to be opposed to Slavery, and the horrors its trade entails, or that 'all of his speeches and letters have been made and written to shew that he was not in favour of the African slave-trade.' Are the public such poor deluded fools as to believe that the ravings of a madman have any other meaning, except the exact reverse of the language and arguments used? It appears, however, by Mr. Yancey's own shewing, that his friends and admirers, too, were so much deceived as to his motives, as to have elected him champion, or 'orator,' of a Society called the *African Supply Labour Association*,

or, as we understand it, a Slave-trade Company. So, while he, poor man, has been all the while deluding himself with the belief that his arguments were opposed to the slave-trade, his friends and kindred have been wonderfully deceived in regarding him as the great exponent of the rights of that abominable traffic.

"Alas! poor Yancey. We are sorry he should have been so grossly misunderstood; but certain it is, he will have to find some other method of making us believe that black is white. He says he don't know two public men in the South, of any note, who advocate the African slave-trade. If this be true, of whom did that '*African Supply Labour Association*' consist? We are left to conclude that 'the president' and 'orator' were the only ones known to him. It is no doubt very inconvenient, very unpleasant, to have his speeches, thoughts, and writings, too closely examined at this juncture:

"When the devil was sick, the devil a saint would be,
When the devil was well, the devil a saint was he."

"I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

"T. A. CRAVEN,

"Commander of the *Tuscarora*."

"Southampton, Jan. 28."

The following are from various Southern journals, and tend to shew that the constituents of these Southern Commissioners do not confine to negroes their advocacy of the lawfulness of enslaving men, while, on the other hand, they denounce free labour and free institutions.

(From the *Richmond Examiner*).

"The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon complexion. The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of *white men* in bondage."

(From the *Charleston Mercury*).

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the labouring man, whether white or black. The great evil of Northern free [mark you, not *Abolition*] society, is, that it is burdened with a servile class, mechanics and labourers, unfit for self-government, and yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child; and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. *Their theory of free government is a delusion.*"

(From the *Richmond Inquirer*).

"Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men, co-exist and endure. The one must give way and cease to exist. The other becomes universal. If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall, and give way to slave society—a social system old as the world, universal as man."

"Like master like man," is an old proverb; and the democratic "masters" are, no doubt, admirably represented by their "men," Messrs. Mason, Slidell, Yancey, and others.

The following is from a recent number of a Southern paper, the *Avalanche*, published at Memphis, Tennessee. It extols Slavery at the expense of free-labour, and is just the sort of article one might expect would meet

the approval of the members of the "*African Labour-Supply Association*."

"CONFEDERATE EULOGY OF SLAVERY."

"The war upon the South, which was begun with high-sounding pretext of devotion to the Stars and Stripes, and attachment to the Union, has degenerated into a blind, atrocious, and fanatical crusade against the institution of Slavery. The vulgar and bloodthirsty abolitionism of John Brown, in all its unmitigated brutality and villainy, is now rampant at Washington. Eschewing all statesmanship, all the obligations of the Constitution, and all justice and humanity, the Northern politicians have given themselves up to the prosecution of the crude schemes of the very *canaille* of abolitionism, and, in their blind rage, seek to level in indiscriminate ruin the institutions and civilization of half a continent. Forfeiting all claim to the character of statesmen, they have converted themselves into a horde of vulgar incendiaries, as despicable as they are atrocious and immeasurably wicked. From henceforth all who sympathize with them, who enlist in their armies, or in any way lend them aid and comfort, become partners in their inexplicable guilt, and sink themselves to the same depth of brutal depravity."

"The contrast between the enlightened, humane, and honourable policy of the South and that of the North, affords the most striking proof of the humanizing and beneficent influences of Slavery. The civilized nations of the earth are beginning to open their eyes to the elevating and salutary effects upon society of this ennobling institution. They see a people reared under its influences displaying, in the conduct of a war waged against them with unexampled atrocity, and an utter disregard of the rules of civilized warfare, all that justice, humanity, magnanimity, moderation, and stainless chivalry, which enter into the highest type of human civilization, in damaging contrast with the low, vulgar, and brutal atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a parallel in the Sepoys of India and the Druses of Syria, whose crimes against humanity have recently excited the abhorrence of Christendom. These developments of national character are causing the people of Europe to revise their notions of the subject of Slavery."

"The history of the world may be challenged to shew a nation which has reached, or long maintained, a high civilization without Slavery, either absolute, as in the South and other countries, or in a modified form, as in the present European systems of labour. A monotonous social level, without the subordination of a menial class to one dominant and superior, is uniformly attended with social degeneracy and corruption, and national weakness and degradation; as witness the effeminate populations of India, and the degenerate North, which has not been able to preserve its virtue or its freedom against the deteriorating influence of its false and defective social system."

"The hostility of the North against the South and Southern institutions is prompted by malignant envy of the superior advantages which the South enjoys as the results of Slavery. This atrocious war is the offspring of a malignant

jealousy in the Northern minds of the superior prowess, prosperity, and happiness of the Southern people—jealousy which hates the excellence it cannot reach. Phelps, the Yankee abolitionist, in command at Ship Island, in his recent proclamation, discloses clearly the real grudge which is inciting the Northern Vandals to such desperate efforts for the destruction of Slavery. He says:

“It is our conviction that monopolies are as destructive as competition is conservative of the principles and vitalities of Republican government; the slave-labour is a monopoly which excludes free-labour and competition; that slaves are kept in comparative idleness and ease in a fertile half of our arable national territory; while free-labourers, constantly augmented in numbers from Europe, are confined to the other half, and are often distressed by want; that the free-labour of the North has more need of expansion into the Southern States, from which it is virtually excluded, than Slavery had into Texas in 1848.”

“The thief would steal the property of his neighbours, which he at once envies and covets. He utters the sentiment of a burglar or a footpad, who thinks himself entitled to appropriate the property of others simply because he craves it. The South fully appreciate the motives and designs of her marauding invaders, and will continue to repulse them with a heroism and determination only increased by the progressive development of their unparalleled villainy.”

BANQUET TO MR. VICE-CONSUL TAYLOR.

Mr. T. C. TAYLOR, recently appointed consul at Abbeokuta, and in compliance with the request of merchants and others interested in the legitimate traffic with that region, and in the suppression of the slave-trade, was entertained at a banquet, on Friday evening, the 10th ult., at the *Ship and Turtle*, Leadenhall-street, prior to taking his departure for the scene of his future labours. Mr. J. T. Miller, M.P., occupied the chair, and was supported by Mr. Digby Seymour, M.P., Messrs. A. Barber, Ford Fenn, A. Rose, of the firm of Rose, Graham, and Wilson; C. Sevin, D. Chinery, M.D., Rucker, T. Hughes, author of “Tom Brown’s School Days,” W. Kappelle, of Manchester, W. I. Bovill, Edwin Fox, Vice-Consul of Liberia, J. Coley Bromfield, J. B. Marsden, T. Tobitt, C. Tracey, Gerald Halston, Consul-General of Liberia, and a number of other gentlemen taking interest in Western Africa.

Letters were read from Lord A. Churchill, M.P., Chairman of the *African-Aid Society*, W. S. Lindsay, Esq., M.P. C. Buxton, Esq., M.P., Dr. T. Hodgkin, Mr. Chamerovzow, Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and from several gentlemen in Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool, expressing their entire concurrence in the Meeting, and regretting their inability to attend.

“The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the toast of the evening, said that public feeling in this country had been greatly shocked by the accounts which had reached us of the massacres perpetrated in the dominions of the King of Dahomey. It was therefore to be hoped that the annexation of Lagos, and the appointment of an English governor to the colony would have the effect of putting an end eventually to these barbarities. Up to the present period no representative of the English Government had been stationed at Abbeokuta, but Mr. Taylor was well acquainted with the country, as well as with the habits of the people, and he would carry with him to his new post the confidence and the good wishes of the whole body of African traders, and the friends of the anti-slavery movement. The protection and increase of the legitimate commerce was the best means of stopping the slave-trade. A native prince, who had been dethroned a few years ago on account of his encouragement of slavery, stated, in a petition to Parliament for compensation, that he had lost no less than 60,000*l.* a year, which he had been accustomed to derive from the revenues of the slave-trade. He was confident that the consent of the Government to appoint a representative at Abbeokuta would have a great effect in checking the abominable traffic.

“Mr. TAYLOR, in responding to the toast, said that it was impossible for him to express his feelings for the honour that was shewn to him on that occasion. Certainly, if in the path of duty in Africa amidst the cares and vicissitudes of office, any thing could tend to cheer him on, it would be the pleasing recollection of those moments. He could assure them that nothing would be wanting on his part to make his new mission beneficial both to this country and to Africa. Mr. Taylor then gave some interesting particulars connected with his former residence in West Africa, and pointed out with great care and minuteness the advantages that must result both to British merchants and the numerous population of Africa, from the extension of a legitimate commerce.

“W. MILLER, M.P., being obliged to leave the chair, Mr. D. SEYMOUR, M.P., was unanimously chosen to fill that post, and in the course of an eloquent speech, urged the importance of cultivating trading relations with the coast of Africa. Pointing to the rapid progress made by the Australian and American colonies, he contended that the continent of Africa presented facilities for colonization and commerce, which ought to engage the serious attention of Government and of the mercantile community. He also argued from the success which had attended the appointment of consuls at various points of the coast, in the vast diminution in the slave-trade, that similar measures should be resorted to at other points, and that merchants and traders should be everywhere encouraged to open up fresh channels of legitimate traffic. He proposed ‘The Commerce of Western Africa,’ coupling the names of Mr. Campbell and Mr. David Chinery.

Professor CAMPBELL, who said he gloried in, having African blood in his veins, spoke warmly both of the physical resources of the African continent and of the mental capabilities of the negro race, responded to the toast.

Mr. D. CHINERY, merchant, in returning thanks, produced some interesting statistics to shew the advance made by legitimate commerce of late years on the West Coast. Bathurst, with a population of 3000, imported in 1859 European goods to the amount of 118,693*l.*; the amount of the exports being 227,460*l.* Sierra Leone, with a population of some 40,000, exported 248,000*l.* worth of produce, and imported 170,000*l.* worth of goods; whilst the Gold Coast, with a population under British protection of some 150,000, and an aggregate adjacent population of a million, exported goods to the extent of 155,000*l.* annually. The total exports from these and other places on the West Coast amounted to 2,650,000*l.* With respect to the cultivation of cotton, the question had assumed great importance in that part of Africa. As soon as a regular system was established in the interior, so that the natives were able to take the raw material from the cotton fields to the stores of the merchant and exchange that cotton for useful merchandise, the production would be immensely increased. The system the natives had been obliged hitherto to follow was to remit the raw material to England, and wait from four to six months for their returns, consequently they could only turn over their capital once a year. By the other system they might, on a day's notice, be supplied, in exchange for their cotton, with all their requirements; and, as a matter of course, much larger quantities of cotton would be forthcoming from the country. The same principle had been worked out in the palm-oil trade in the Bight of Benin and Biafra, to which places large cargoes of Manchester and other goods are now regularly sent and immediately exchanged for palm-oil. The Yoruba people at the present time grew and manufactured into cloth, for their own use, eight millions of pounds of cotton per annum. The operation of producing these cloths occupied a very long time. It includes cleaning, dyeing, weaving, and making-up. Now, he contended, that if goods manufactured in Europe, suitable for the use of the natives, were supplied to them in exchange for their raw cotton, it would be to their interest to devote their attention exclusively to the production of the raw material, and that, consequently, the amount produced would be immensely greater than it was at present. His own experience justified him in stating his conviction that it would be at least trebled or quadrupled, and that at once. These facts, taken in conjunction with the extreme fertility of the soil, and the general healthiness of the continent, with its unbounded facilities of commerce, make the coast of Africa a most interesting field to the English trader. He was also happy to observe, that at the present time there were upwards of 12,000 native children in the abovenamed colonies under regular European tuition, in schools mainly supported by the natives.

"The CHAIRMAN said the next toast he had to give was one he felt sure would receive their unanimous approval. He much regretted the absence of Dr. Hodgkin and Mr. Chamerovzow, as the toast was one with which their names stood prominently connected: he begged

to give 'success to the abolition of the slave-trade,' coupling with it the name of Thomas Hughes, Esq., F.S.A.

"Mr. HUGHES having responded in a most feeling speech,

"The CHAIRMAN proposed the health of the Consul-General of Liberia.

"Mr. GERALD RALSTON, the Consul-General of Liberia, addressed the meeting in most hopeful terms as to the future of Africa, asserting that it was destined at no great distance of time to be a second East India to the British empire.

"The CHAIRMAN proposed 'The Shipping Interest.'

"Mr. RUCKER, of the firm of Seymour, Peacock, and Co., responded.

"The CHAIRMAN then gave the health of the Stewards of the banquet, David Chinery and George Offor, Esqrs., observing that it was such meetings as the present that would tend to bring about better things for the future of Africa.

"Mr. DAVID CHINERY, in returning thanks, said it grieved him to announce that a domestic affliction had prevented his friend, Mr. Offor, from being amongst them that evening. Death had stepped over the threshold, and taken one of his children. He also regretted exceedingly to say, that their valuable and esteemed friend, Mr. Chamerovzow, was prevented from joining them, as he had intended his beloved lady was now lying upon a bed of sickness, having been recently smitten with a fit of paralysis. He was sure each of those gentlemen had their kindest and best sympathies.

"The proceedings terminated about eleven o'clock.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

THE NEGROES AND THE WAR.—From the statement of one negro the Southerners tried to make them believe that we would kill them all. But Mars, one of the contrabands, said, "Nigger don't believe 'em. I 'se contraband; lots of niggers comin'." The slaves swim the rivers to come to us. Another contraband said, "I 'se run when de shot cum, but I 'se come back now." I asked another if he did not want to go back to his master, where his wife was? "No sah!" said he, "I 'se free now." We are now (11th) encamped on General Drayton's plantation; he has about 200 negroes large and small; so I am told by a patriarchal negro of eighty years who makes one of the number. I asked him what they said about us? "Well," said he, "Dey tell us de Yankees kill we; den dey say de Yankees sell we; but for my part I don care if dey did, kase I ole, and don't make much differ now; de ole man got no chile to gib he as much as water. I hab sebenteen fine children, but de ole man got none now; dey sell dem all—sell all my fine boys and gals—all my children, like sheep." I asked if they believed we would sell or kill them? He promptly answered, "No; that if the negroes believed it, they would not have staid."—*A. S. Standard.*

SLAVE STAMPEDES.—The Leavenworth correspondent of the *New-York Times* says; "Ever

since the commencement of this war, the moveable property of Missouri has been taking unto itself legs. One gentleman has kept the record of the fugitives who had passed through his town since last May, and it reached over 150. Over 200 have been recorded at Leavenworth. Some 400 are now at Lawrence, a number at Atchison, and in the counties of Linn and Bourbon, south-eastern Kansas, there cannot be less than 400 more. Of these latter, 150 are a new instalment sent from his camp to Gen. Lane, and gathered during the march from Kansas City to join the column of Sigel in pursuit of Price. It is true that where the Kansas men march, Slavery disappears, as Gen. Lane in the United States Senate declared it would. The 150 contrabands spoken of were all provided with teams, bedding, and provisions, which their late masters having left, they appropriated."

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROES' FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE Spring quarterly meeting of the *Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* was held on Tuesday, the 11th ult., in the Priory Room, Upper Priory, Birmingham. The number of ladies present was greater than at any previous time, except on the occasion of the annual meeting. The minutes of the November meeting required some reference, after which it was intended to submit letters and various subjects of interest which had been prepared for introduction, but the Cuban slave-trade, and American affairs, were felt to be of such immense importance, that the attention of the meeting was chiefly called to their consideration. A letter just received from the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* was read to the meeting, stating the urgent need for continual agitation on the subject of the Cuban slave-trade; also extracts from the last number of the *African Times*, the organ of the *African-Aid Society*.

After other documents had been presented to the meeting, the following resolution was passed:

"That in view of the miseries still inflicted on the African race, by the continuance of the Cuban slave-trade, and of the aid which it derives from the commercial support of Great Britain, which consumes so largely the produce of Cuba, this meeting concludes it highly desirable that ministers of all denominations should be invited to use their influence to impress on their churches, and, through them, on the nation, the duty of arresting, if possible, so enormous a crime.

"All our country has been indignant at the attempt to take from under the protection of our laws four defenders of Slavery. Where is the consistency and justice of allowing Spain to capture thousands of Africans whose protection has been purchased by our country's money, and whose exemption from such terrible outrage has

been guaranteed again and again by solemn treaties between the two Governments?

"We delight in the universal compassion evinced for the sufferers who were smothered in the depths of the Hartley Colliery: we should hail with devout feelings of thankfulness such a manifestation of sympathy for the multitudes of men, women, and children, who are daily stifled in the hold of the slave-ship."

It was stated to the meeting that American affairs are ably treated of in *Frederick Douglass's Monthly Journal*, published at Rochester, in the State of New York, and much interesting information given about the negroes and contrabands.

"It was remarked that Charles Sumner, Gerrit Smith, and other of the first men in America, express the most decided opinion, that if the Government would come forth boldly for emancipation, they might look for a speedy triumph to their cause. When the course of the Border States is settled, then it is stated that the Cabinet of Washington will compensate the slaveholders of these loyal States. If the war is costing, as is conjectured, 400,000,000*l.* a-year, all the slaves of all the States might be redeemed for less price, in accordance with Elihu Burritt's plan, propounded some years since, and thus an end be put to a system which, the more it is known, the more fruitful of crimes is it seen to be.

"It was mentioned, as a cause of the liveliest satisfaction to this Society to believe that the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by England meets with much less favour than it did from the press and public, if it is true that the Commissioners from the seceded States are prepared to offer the relinquishment of Slavery for the sake of our recognition. Such an offer, as the *Daily News* has remarked, must be worthless till this condition be fulfilled. A hopeful sign in the North, as indicative of the turn popular opinion is taking, was stated to be found in the improved tone of the Religious Associations, such as the *American Bible Society*, *Tract Society*, and the *Board of Missions*. It is indeed high time the American churches ceased to be the bulwarks of American Slavery.

"Another subject that came before the meeting must not escape notice, viz. the repeated pro-slavery tendencies manifested in the *Times* and other newspapers, also in the reviews of a largely-circulated periodical, the *Athenæum*."

We conclude with the cheering announcement that Mr. Haywood, who has been travelling in India, from one Presidency to another, reports progress in the arrangements for the growth and supply of cotton. The protracted struggle in America, grievously as it injures our manufacturing population and affects our commerce, affords some compensation in the impetus that is given to the cultivation, in every quarter of the globe, of a material that has so largely contributed to our national prosperity.